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ABSTRACT

The second of two studies on non-traditional approaches to official language training for adult immigrants to Canada focuses on programs that deviate in some way from a proposed traditional model of language training (involving a paid, trained teacher in an educational institution teaching to a class of 25 students full-time in the day or part-time at night, without day care or transportation). This study is a collection of examples of alternatives to this traditional training model, and is not offered as a representative or exemplary sample. A discussion of the programs addresses these variables: coordination and consolidation within adult language training; equality of access, equality of condition, coordination with other settlement services; teacher development and recognition; and input from and accountability to users and deliverers. It is concluded that two initiatives are critically needed: (1) action to permit, encourage, and support the development of programs to specifically facilitate language learning among immigrant groups not now well served; and (2) a major injection of leadership, funding, and administrative attention from the highest levels of government to lend coherence to a currently chaotic and wasteful system of immigrant language training. Additional suggestions are made. (MSE)

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NON-TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE TRAINING

Second Report, September 1989

Barbara Burnaby

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Report prepared for

Multiculturalism and Citizenship

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NON-TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE TRAINING

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is the second of two studies on non-traditional approaches to official language training for adult immigrants in Canada. The first was a theoretical study of hypothetical potential for program development in light of relations between Canadians and immigrants. The second is a description of actual examples of programs which deviate in some way from a proposed 'traditional' model of language training involving a paid, trained teacher in an educational insitution, teaching to a class to twenty-five students full-time in the daytime or part-time at night, without day care for the students' children or transporation for students, and so on.

This study is not a survey, but a collection of examples of alternatives to this hypothetical model. Data was obtained through reports from provincial English as a second language associations to TESL Canada in 1988 and 1989, reports prepared by TESL Canada for Employment and Immigration and the Canadian International Development Agency on certain facets of language training in Canadian institutions, and about thirty interviews conducted with key people in fields relating to official language training across the country. Because of the nature of the data collection, it cannot be seen as numerically representative of the kinds or volume of language training delivery available nor can it be seen as presenting particularly good or bad examples of practice. In other words, it was not possible to place the examples in context of need/delivery capacity, or it terms of the quality of delivery relative to other approaches.

The discussion in the study was structured on "six principles for restructuring adult ESL in Manitoba" (Manitoba, Department of Education 1984) which are a refinement of principles established by TESL Canada for the structuring of language training in 1981. In addition, special emphasis was placed on current needs of immigrants in four categories identified in the first report as being in particular need of attention.

In light of this perspective, discussion of examples is structured under the following headings:

I. Coordination and Consolidation within Adult Language Training

II. Equality of Access
- II.1 Academic Admissions Requirements
- II.2 Fees to Students
- II.3 Financial Support
- II.4 Eligibility for Training
- II.5 Scheduling of Language Training
- II.6 Transportation to Class
- II.7 Child Minding
- II.8 Referral to Suitable Language and Skills Training Programs
- II.9 Programs for Immigrants with Special Needs
- II.10 Location of Training and Distance Education

III. Equality of Condition
- III.1 Learners with Low Levels of Confidence
- III.2 Learners with Low Levels of Literacy in their Mother Tongue
- III.3 Language Training for Accrediation and Job Mobility

IV. Coordination with Other Settlement Services

V. Teacher Development and Recognition

VI. Input from and Accountability of Users and Deliverers

Conclusions from this study are quite evident. In terms of alteration from the current system, two initiatives are critically needed. One is to permit, encourage, and support the development of programs that will specifically facilitate language learning among groups of immigrants who are not now well served under the current system. Such groups include immigrant adults (1) who have blocks to access (e.g. child care, transporation, etc.) to regular language programs, (2) those who have training and exerience in trades and professions in their home countries and who are underemployed here because of barriers to access to accreditation and appropriate training, (3) those who have low levels of education in their home country and/or literacy in their mother tongue, and (4) those who live in geographical areas of Canada in which few services are available for language training. Examples exist of approaches that have been effectively taken to deal with problems of the first group listed here although application is minimal and uneven, but the other three groups have been largely ignored and are greatly in need of direct and vigorous action.

As a corollary to this point, serious concerns can be raised about the quantitative adequacy or the appropriateness of available language training programs given the numbers of immigrant students needing language training that are turning up in newly expanded literacy programs across the country. In the same vein, the numbers of students who are attending SLTP classes who do not fit the criteria (women not destined for the labour force) needs careful scrutiny. Further investigation is urgently needed. Either this phenomenon shows that there is not enough language training or that what is available is not accessible in ways in which much literacy and SLTP training is. No doubt the answer to this question is that both factors have an influence and that geographic and regional policy factors play a role.

The other conclusion is that a major injection of leadership, funding, and administrative attention from the highest levels of government is required to put some kind of coherence into the language training system for immigrant adults. The current system is chaotic and wasteful of human and monetary resources: those of the governments, the deliverers, and the learners. First of all, immigrant students cannot find out what learning opportunities are available, and those that are available are not coordinated to meet the needs either of the students or, in the long term, the interests of the Canadian society that is receiving them. Secondly, language training delivery institutions suffer because policies and funding are not consistent, coherent, or predictable. Therefore, they are hard pressed to react as best they can to short-term demands much less assess and plan for strategies they could use to better serve their local immigrant populations. Stakeholders with powerful resources and reasons to become involved, such as employers, trades and professions gatekeepers, and the media, have not been pressed to lend their support to resolving this dilemma. Systematic strategies to consult students and deliverers are not in place or, if they are, are not implemented to any significant extent. The problems are not insoluable and the resources exist, but the leadership is not there.

A corollary to this point is that the network of stakeholders which must be consulted and coopted include not only those directly involved with official language training for immigrants but also stakeholders in the fields of literacy, skills development training, and settlement services. They have become increasingly involved in the system of language training in recent years, and their support and in-put is essential to the development of policy and practice at all levels of official language training delivery across the country.

NON-TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE TRAINING

Second Report, September 1989

Barbara Burnaby

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Introduction

This is the second of two reports on non-traditional approaches to official language training for adult immigrants to Canada. A challenge in doing the research for these reports has been that there is and has been a great deal of variety in the ways in which language training has been offered to immigrants; thus, to decide what can be considered ordinary and what should be considered to be special is not easy. For the purposes of organizing the discussion here, it is arbitrarily assumed that a 'traditional' language program is one offered by a deliverer whose main function is education (e.g. a school board, a college, and so on), that it is conducted on the premises of that deliverer in a regular classroom, and that it is taught by a paid, professional teacher with training in second language teaching. This hypothetical class would have about 25 students, would be either full-time in the daytime, or part-time in the evening, would be conducted through the medium of the target language (English or French) only, and would be semestered (i.e. begin in September or January and run for about four months). The course objectives and curriculum would be set by the delivery agency and would focus on general, conversational English/French. Learners would be recruited through the deliverer's normal promotion (e.g. a calendar of continuing education courses). The program would offer no additional support for the students, such as child minding or transportation. Finally, the program would be supported to some degree by government funding. A large proportion of official language training programs for adult immigrants deviate from this hypothetical example on at least one of the dimensions suggested here. The purpose of this report is to describe some of the alternatives exemplified in Canadian programs.

Language training has many facets, including outreach, location, facilities, teaching personnel, methodology, curriculum, evaluation, coordination, and placement to name just a few. For each possible facet there is a range of possible alternative strategies. Consideration of the value of each strategy is contingent on its context, that is, the whole program and target population in which it is set. In the discussion below, examples will be given of alternatives that Canadian delivery agencies have developed in relation to our hypothetical program. Reasons will be given for these alternatives, but no attempt will be

made to describe all facets of each program mentioned. Therefore, the value/quality of each example cannot be discussed; in other words the examples are not offered as good or bad but just as existing alternatives. For a more theoretical and schematic view of the range of alternatives, please see my first report on this topic.

Another part of the challenge in this study is to identify what should legitimately be considered to be language training for immigrants. Discussion in this report is limited to formal learning situations such as classes and distance education and does not include learning through experience or self-access learning as was discussed in my first report. Identifying what can be called language training is also challenging, particularly in light of a recent trend to combine training in other skills with language training. In this report, a number of examples will be given of combined language and skills training aimed specifically at immigrants. However, no attempt was made to discern the use immigrants make of learning opportunities such as ordinary office skills training or upgrading courses as a means of improving their official language skills. Finally, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which immigrants are involved in official language training that is primarily intended for non-immigrants such as Native people and anglophone or francophone Canadians learning the other official language.

Given these challenges, this report and the research behind it are limited in a number of ways. The research was NOT a survey of official language training programs in Canada. There are far too many deliverers and programs in Canada to be surveyed systematically in a study of the dimensions of this one. Data were collected from reports to TESL Canada by provincial affiliate ESL associations and government representatives at TESL Canada annual general meetings in 1988 and 1989. About thirty telephone and face to face interviews were conducted with government workers, program coordinators, literacy advocates, private consultants, and academics to follow up on leads in these data and on other programs that I came in contact with through other aspects of my work as a teacher, consultant, and volunteer in both the ESL and literacy fields. Also, I used data from studies that TESL Canada has conducted for the federal government including an inventory of ESL programs in English-medium colleges and universities in Canada (conducted in 1988 for CIDA) and two reports on the Settlement Language Training Program (conducted in 1987 and 1989 for Employment and Immigration Canada). Because the research was not a survey, the discussion in this report does not pretend to enumerate or exemplify all existing alternatives to the 'traditional' program described above. For a discussion of hypothetical alternatives, please see my first report.

This study cannot indicate the volume or all instances of alternative programs nor can it assess the quality of the programs described. The information used here comes from reports given by people involved in the programs. I had no means of assessing the effectiveness of the programs or even the accuracy of their descriptions. In many cases, terms used to describe educational and social strategies can have broad interpretations, so it was difficult to tell from descriptions what some programs were like in detail.

Anyone considering using a particular program alternative on the basis of the discussion below should evaluate the effectiveness of actual examples.

This study is not an analysis or discussion of applied theories of second language teaching methodology (e.g. communicative competence, translation, grammar teaching, etc.). There is a vast academic and teacher oriented literature on such topics and the kinds of information gathered in this study did not provide much insight into the kinds of teaching methods that teachers were using. The closest this report comes to this area is examples of ways in which learners were involved in deciding on curriculum content.

Finally, data used in this study come almost entirely from the teaching of English as a second language rather than French because of a bias in my network of access to information on official language training. Also, information from New Brunswick is very limited in this study due to the fact that New Brunswick has not participated in TESL Canada meetings for the past five years. If Ontario examples seem frequent in the discussion, it is not because I am working from Toronto and have ignored the rest of the country. Ontario receives the highest proportion of any province of the primary migration to Canada and gets a large share, inestimable by current data gathering processes, of secondary migration of immigrants as well. Thus, Ontario has the volume and the diversity of immigrant clients and agencies interested in serving them to create particular solutions which are not possible in areas which serve fewer immigrants. On the other hand, provinces with smaller immigrant populations have advantages in being able to keep track of the immigrants they receive and finding particular services on an official or non-official basis to meet their needs. At any rate, I have done my best to cover all the provinces equitably and to provide examples from each as appropriate.

Framework for Discussion in this Report

In order to structure this discussion of the multi-faceted topic of official language training for adult immigrants, the "six basic principles for restructuring adult ESL in Manitoba" has been chosen as a basis for organization. These principles are a refinement of TESL Canada's six principles towards a national policy on the provision of ESL training to adults (TESL Canada 1982) and represent a well researched focus, by ESL professionals in Canada as a whole and in Manitoba in particular, on the central issues relating to English language training for adult immigrants. Within the scope of each of the principles lie considerations of the major facets of language training.

1. Coordination and consolidation within adult ESL

> Adult ESL is a single settlement service which demands a single provincial administrative structure for policy formation, and for the planning, delivery and evaluation of programmes. In short, the two systems [federal and provincial] must

be brought together despite the dichotomy existing at the federal level.

2. Equality of access

Language training for adults must be provided in such a way that there is equality of access in both part-time and full-time programmes.

3. Equality of condition

Language training must be provided in such a way that there is equality of condition as well as equality of access.
Note: Equality of condition, as opposed to equality of access of opportunity, shifts the emphasis from creating avenues for participation to creating conditions for success. It assumes that learners come to the process with differing levels and the with differing abilities and needs, and that the training and education must be provided in such a way as to make it possible for the learner to succeed given those differences. Therefore, the design and structure of delivery is determined by the needs of the learner rather than by the needs of the institution.

4. Coordination with other settlement services

The provision of Adult ESL must be closely co-ordinated with the provision of other less conspicuous settlement services such as counselling, child care, translation and orientation. Such an integrated holistic approach recognizes the fact that adult immigrants do not pursue language learning as a purely academic or vocational activity but as the key to becoming successfully established. In short, Adult ESL must be seen not as a purely educational service but as part of the settlement process through which adult immigrants are going.

5. Teacher development and recognition

Teachers, who are the principal resource for meeting the needs of the adult language learner, must be recognized through new creditation and certification processes. Their skills must be developed through new pre-service and in-service development efforts, and they must be utilized not only in the classroom but also in the areas of curriculum development and professional development.

6. Input from and accountability of users and deliverers

Any new system for co-ordination must include specific provision for regular structured input from users and deliverers. There must also be provision of opportunities for users and deliverers to hold decision makers to account for their action or lack thereof. (Manitoba 1984 p.14/5)

Focus on Immigrant Groups with Special Needs

Within this framework, the needs of certain groups of immigrants will be seen to be the focus of much of the discussion below because the demographics of immigration and the process of settlement have meant that certain needs for specific kinds of language training among immigrants has come to the fore and because some delivery agencies have been changing their forms of language training delivery to meet these needs. In my first report, I noted the special needs for language training of (1) those who have blocks to access (e.g. child care or transportation) to generic language training, (2) those who are underemployed, (3) those who have low levels of education in their home country/mother tongue, and (4) those who live in areas in which few services are available for language

training. Judge Rosalie Abella, in her Royal Commission report on equality in employment, notes these groups and extends the list.

> Immigrants who are restricted in their access to language training include men and women not immediately destined for the labour force, those living in rural areas, those undereducated in the language of their country of origin, both men and women in full-time jobs, and those seeking further education. (Abella, 1984 p.155)

Also, statistics gathered through the Immigrant Vocational and Language Referral Centre in Calgary over its first three years of operations indicate the following:

> Some Client Trends
>
> - Many clients (encompassing a wide range of oral skills) are lacking basic literacy skills.
> - Many clients need basic education/academic upgrading--not only ESL--especially refugees who have spent a long time in camps or in war-torn countries. Some have very little formal education. It is often difficult to get funding for an integrated program of ESL and e.g. math and physics.
> - Clients with professional backgrounds experience great difficulty with accreditation, getting qualifications recognized, or even finding employment in the same field.
> - Clients who came to Alberta during the boom and now unemployed are sometimes denied ESL training on the grounds that they have been in Canada long enough to have learned English. These immigrants still require ESL training to become competitive and to become re-employed.
> - Chronically unemployed immigrants are lacking in language skills, job-search skills, self-esteem, confidence, contacts, education, etc. (Maguire and Lewis, 1988).

The problems of those who are geographically isolated from available language training serices do not appear on this latter list because it is not currently within the mandate of this service to reach out into outlying areas of Alberta.

This focus on certain groups of immigrants with special language learning needs has been included here not as an arbitrary organizing principle for the discussion but to emphasize real areas of problems within the official language training delivery system. Thus, particular attention was paid in this study to gathering data on language training alternatives that addressed the needs of these particular groups.

I. Coordination and Consolidation within Adult Language Training

Energies and expenditures on language training for adult immigrants are well used to the extent that they are coordinated and focussed efficiently and effectively on groups in need. Coordination, cooperation, and consolidation among funders and deliverers of language training for adult immigrants has been the exception rather than the norm in Canada. There are many stakeholders and sets of vested interests involved. Fortunately,

in the past few years a number of examples of means of coordination have been developed, but most jurisdictions have a long way to go in achieving a systematically organized set of programs for language training. In this section, the range of stakeholders will be described; then a list of programming aspects which need coordination will be discussed; and finally, some examples will be given of coordination efforts.

To begin with the question of what needs to be coordinated and consolidated within adult language training, a list of the most obvious players must be drawn up. Regarding stakeholders in the federal government, there have been numerous complaints about lack of coordination at the federal level among the major federal programs, that is, the Canadian Job Strategies (CJS) and the Settlement Language Training Program (SLTP) (Employment and Immigration Canada), and the Citizenship Instruction and Language Textbook (CILT) agreements between the provinces and the Department of the Secretary of State. A matter of concern for other stakeholders has been that the CJS program is aimed at those destined for the labour force, the SLTP specifically at women not destined for the labour force, and the CILT agreements are neutral on this. The CJS offers much more generous training and support for learners and therefore invites unattrative comparisons with the other federal programs. Since the CILT program has been recently withdrawn, stakeholders may now be able to deal with only one federal agency (Employment and Immigration), although its immigration and employment sectors seem not to be particularly well coordinated either. Other federal agencies which are concerned but which are only peripherally associated with immigrant language training include the sector of the Department of the Secretary of State which deals with citizenship and that in support of the official languages (and the Commissioner of Official Languages), the Public Service Commission which deals with official language teaching among public service employees, Correctional Services, Health and Welfare, the Human Right Commission, Labour, National Defense, and even the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission and Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Other federal monies have an impact on language training programs through transfer payments to provinces which affect, for example, universities.

At the provincial level, there are at least two departments in each provincial government potentially involved in language training for immigrants--the department of education and one or more departments responsible for adult training, citizenship, post-secondary education, and so on. For example, in Ontario the ministries of Citizenship, Education, Colleges and Universities, and Skills Development are all involved in direct service delivery. Also, the ministries of Community and Social Services, Corrections, Labour, Health, and others are indirectly involved. As another example, Alberta departments involved directly in offocial language training are Career Development and Employment, Advanced Education, Culture, and Social Services with indirect implications for labour, health, corrections, and so on. Since provincial money is involved in the general support of public educational institutions and correctional institutions, the provinces can be considered to be funding language training programs offered in these

institutions through administrative and capital support. Provinces vary greatly both in the extent to which they initiate and fund adult language training and the degree to which they coordinate provincial efforts in this field. Examples will be discussed below.

Municipal governments are sometimes involved in funding language training programs or providing in kind support such as space (for example, in a language and skills training program for Mennonite women in St. Thomas, Ontario). In some cases, they provide training (for example, a multiculturalism in the workplace program for City of Toronto employees), but such training usually falls under some provincially or federally funded program, in the Toronto case, the Multiculturalism in the Workplace program of the Ministry of Citizenship. In the St. Thomas case, the project was supported by a consortium of funders including Employment and Immigration and others. Because school boards are among the major deliverers of adult language training, municipal tax bases can be used to support language training.

Finally, there are many private sector or non-governmental organizations which are involved in funding and delivering adult language training. Some of the larger bodies provide financial support (for example, the Mennonite Central Committee or the Jewish Immigrant Aid Service), but most provide in-kind support for the delivery of programs funded from federal or provincial sources (for example, the settlement agencies which deliver SLTP programs). Also, employers who have language training in their workplaces may permit the use of facilities and pay wages for all or part of the time that the learners take in training. Private schools and universities usually offer language training to the general public on a profit making basis, although subsidies may be applied to university programs designed to prepare non-native speakers of English or French to study in the regular courses in those institutions.

There are a number of tasks that could be included in coordination, cooperation, and consolidation: information gathering on clients and programs; information sharing about clients and programs; program rationalization; program coordination; program evaluation; and client referral. These tasks will be noted as characteristics of coordination efforts in the discussion below.

For a variety of reasons, including the fact that education is a provincial responsibility in Canada and the fact that immigration has differing impacts on the various provinces, it makes sense that coordination should centre at the provincial level. For the Atlantic provinces, where levels of immigration are much lower than elsewhere in the country, there is no policy on official language training for adult immigrants by the provincial governments, and federally funded language training for immigrants is coordinated by the federal government through the regional offices of Employment and Immigration and the Secretary of State. Programs are offered through colleges and the Department of Continuing Education of the City of Halifax with CJS funding and in community agencies with SLTP funding. Thus, all coordination of publicly funded

programs is federally directed with some information gathering, sharing, and advocacy on behalf of the provincial TESL associations and immigrant advocacy organizations. Traditionally, Laubach Literacy undertook responsibility for providing language training to immigrants who had no other source of training in the Maritime provinces through their tutoring programs.

Quebec, Manitoba, and Alberta all have provincially centralized coordination of official language training; in Quebec through La Direction de la Formation linguistique of the Ministere des Communautes culturelles et de l'Immigration; in Manitoba through the Adult and Continuing Education Branch of Education Manitoba in cooperation with the Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower; and in Alberta through the ESL Secretariat of the Department of Career Development and Employment. Each of these bodies coordinates the federal/provincial agreements on language training and develops policies to rationalize and coordinate program delivery. As examples of the particular initiatives these bodies have demonstrated, the following are cited. Quebec has negotiated its own version of CJS training and the SLTP with the federal government. These programs offer longer training to a greater proportion of immigrants than elsewhere in Canada. Also, Quebec administers directly a network of immigrant reception centres (COFI) which offer both language training and orientation services and are coordinated with programs offered by school boards.

The Manitoba body has been effective in establishing and maintaining groups of stakeholders which meet regularly to share information and rationalize and coordinate programs. One group is the regional advisory committee of federal and provincial representatives plus members from major delivery agencies to advise on the SLTP in Manitoba. Employment and Immigration stipulates the formation of such a committee as a condition of administration of SLTP funding, but the Manitoba committee has been particularly active. Also, a group of stakeholders regarding access by immigrants to post-secondary training was established to increase coordination and cooperation among the post-secondary institutions on programs to prepare immigrant students to enter those institutions as regular students. A new program with a training allowance was initiated with provincial money to assist immigrants with the academically oriented language skills needed to enter regular post-secondary training. A third group that has been established consists of the major employers of teachers of ESL to immigrant adults in order to encourage and train new teachers for this field.

Areas in which the Alberta body, the ESL Secretariat, has been specially active include information gathering, program rationalization, and client referral. In 1985, the Alberta government funded two immigrant vocational and language referral centres, one in Edmonton and one in Calgary, which are operated and directed by consortia of local language training delivery and settlement agencies. These centres provide assessment and counselling to immigrants for language and employment purposes and refer clients to appropriate training and services. Not only are immigrants' needs directly met through

these centres, but centre personnel can provide information to local agencies and the Secretariat for planning purposes. Also, the manager of the Secretariat chairs a monthly committee meeting of representatives of the five provincial stakeholder departments to make recommendations to the deputy ministers of these departments. A major task the Secretariat has set for itself is to develop a set of province-wide standards for measuring language competency so that standards can be reasonably set for entrance into all types of jobs and so that curriculums can be rationalized across the province.

The governments of Ontario, British Columbia, and Saskatchewan have show less leadership and coordination than Quebec, Alberta, and Manitoba, a matter of some concern given the high levels of immigration in Ontario and British Columbia. In Ontario, a lead ministry for adult language training has been designated, the Ministry of Culture. While this Ministry is responsible for important and innovative provincial funding initiatives and is the ministry that has been the distributor of CILT monies in the province, it is a small ministry that has little influence over the large and powerful ministries of Education, Colleges and Universities, and Skills Development which administer major provincial and federal programs relating to official language training for official languages. The Ministry of Colleges and Universities, for example, has exerted strong control over CJS funding in the province, and the Ministry of Education supports large programs through the school boards. The Ministry of Skills Development, under the rubric of adult basic education, has also funded major projects, linking literacy monies with those of official language training, that impact on language training such as the grant to the Ontario Federation of Labour to be discussed below. Official language training in the province appears to be under review for the first time, and there have already been some difficulties in setting up research to answer questions on the level and kinds of demand for services by clients and the costs involved in current programs.

In British Columbia, the government has been slow to sign agreements on official language training such as the CILT agreement. It has left officers of the regional office of Employment and Immigration to make arrangements for the administration of the CJS and the SLTP directly with delivery agencies without provincial input. There is an official in the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology who is responsible for official language training along with other duties under the general category of adult basic education. There are no provincial programs which directly support official language training in the province.

Similarly, in Saskatchewan, the province does not directly support official language training for immigrants. As of 1985, Employment and Immigration began negotiating CJS language training agreements directly with the deliverers rather than through the province. Until 1986, an official with the Department of Education was charged with the responsibility for official language training among other duties, but when he left the post was left unfilled (Saskatchewan Council for Educators of Non-English Speakers 1988).

Bodies other than government departments gather and share information and develop policies on program rationalization, coordination, and evaluation which they then use to coordinate their own activities and lobby governments and other stakeholders. At the national level there is TESL Canada and immigrant advocacy organizations such as the Action Committee for Immigrant and Visible Minority Women. At the provincial level, there are the provincial ESL associations and umbrella organization representing the interests of settlement agencies. For example, in Ontario there is the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI) and in British Columbia there is the Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of British Columbia (AMSSA). In Saskatchewan, the provincial ESL association is affiliated with the Multicultural Association of Saskatchewan. It is perhaps not a coincidence that strong umbrella organizations of agencies and advocates have developed in provinces with weak provincial leadership. At the school board level, means of coordination also exist, for example the ESL coordinators of the boards within Metropolitan Toronto have met regularly for a number of years and are now extending their network to school boards across southern Ontario.

In situations of specific need, leadership may be shown to coordinate resources. An interesting example is the work of the Mennonite Central Committee in developing programs for the Kanadier, Mennonite people who are Canadian citizens but who have been living in Mexico, Belize, and Paraguay for decades. These people speak Spanish and Low German and have little formal education. Many have come back to Canada and are located in the Winkler-Morden area of Manitoba and the London area of Ontario. In both these areas the Mennonite Central Committee has mobilized a considerable consortium of agencies (Manitoba Education, Employment and Immigration, Secretary of State, the local school division, a community college, and a local non-governmental agency in one case and Employment and Immigration, the local school board, the local 'Y', and the municipality in the other case).

Labour and employers are interested parties in language training for adults. For the most part, workplace based programs are funded by provinces, occasionally the CJS or CILT, and administered by colleges, school boards, or unions. An example of an employer who has taken considerable initiative in providing language training for workers is Levi Strauss in two of its plants in Ontario and one in Alberta. In Ontario, the Ontario Federation of Labour has consolidated unions' initiatives in getting workplace language and literacy programs by getting a grant from the Ministry of Skills Development to create union organized programs. In British Columbia, the Canadian Union of Farmworkers undertook an ESL crusade with Punjabi farm labourers run by volunteers from the union (Jackson 1987).

In light of changing characterisics of the immigrant population and alterations in the structure and focus of the system of delivery of training to all adults, there is a need to coordinate programs which are clearly language training with literacy, upgrading and skills development programs. Immigrant language learners are incresingly being served by

literacy organizations and are being offered classes that combine language training with other skills training. Thus, stakeholders in those fields must be added to the network. In addition, the link between language training and the provision of other settlement services is growing and needs to be encouraged, so settlment service providers need to be included in the coordination as well.

To sum up the discussion in this section, leadership in coordinating language training programs for adult immigrants takes many forms across the country. According to Rosalie Abella:

> Although the federal government provides funding for language-training programs, decisions relating to delivery and content are left to the provinces, resulting in wide differences in the quality and length of courses. ...A new language-training framework is required and indeed has been recommended in a recent review by the two federal departments involved. ...In addition, the discussion paper recommends the negotiation of a new umbrella agreement between the federal government and each of the provinces which would "...design the type of framework required to facilitate: needs analysis, priorization, co-ordination of service delivery, quality standards, and program evaluation". (Abella 1984, 156)

It seems clear from the above examples that a workable national policy on language training must take into account the best models of coordination available from all levels of government and other bodies since all must work together in the overall delivery of the necessary training. There are a great many facets and stakeholders which need to be coordinated, so strong leadership is required if a system is to be forged that is any less chaotic than the current one. Issues closely related to the coordination question will be discussed in the following sections.

II. Equality of Access

This section looks at barriers to learners' participation in language training programs. Here, 'external' barriers will be considered, those barriers which mainly concern the requirements of the delivery agency or the life circumstances of the learners which make it difficult to get access to programs. A special discussion is devoted to those learners who have difficulty gaining access to language training because they live in areas in which language training is not readily available. For a comparison between those barriers relating to adult immigrant learners as discussed here and those of the general adult population of Canada, which show close parallels, please see From the Adult's Point of View (Canadian Association for Adult Education 1982) and the studies commissioned by the Worker's Educational Association of Canada for each province in Canada (e.g. Carley 1988).

II.1. Academic Admissions Requirements

Academic admissions requirements for language training programs are related to the level and the purpose of the program offered. Usually such requirements are used as screening devices given the level of difficulty or content of the program. While a large proportion of language training programs for adult immigrants do not have academic admissions requirements, those programs that do present barriers which affect some immigrants with low levels of formal education, younger immigrants hoping to get into Canadian post-secondary education, and immigrants who came to Canada with professional training and experience and who want to get accreditation in their professions in Canada.

Non-credit general courses offered by deliverers (except universities and colleges) rarely have academic admissions requirements. Examples of requirements for courses at universities and colleges are that students for non-credit courses at York University in Toronto and Mt. Royal College in Calgary must have literacy in their mother tongue. The University of British Columbia in Vancouver and Carlton University in Ottawa require that students have finished high school in order to take credit or non-credit language training courses. Programs in many colleges and universities that are offered specifically to prepare prospective students for their regular programs usually require that students have the normal entrance qualifications for the program and that they have close to the required score on the English language test used by the institution as a language screen for foreign students. For example, the British Columbia Institute of Technology in Burnaby B.C. and the University of Lethbridge, Alberta, use the students' test scores on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), the most commonly used test of English language proficiency, as a way placing students in pre- amd post-admissions language training courses. York University in Toronto and other institutions use their own test along with others for such placement. A consortium of Ontario universities has developed a post-admissions test, the Ontario Test of English as a Foreign Language (OTEFL), specifically for post-admissions placement of foreign students in language support classes. Some colleges, for example Fairview College in Fairview Alberta, test immigrant students for placement purposes using common tests of adult basic education such as the California Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE) (TESL Canada 1988).

Such admissions requirements protect the deliverer from admitting learners who cannot handle the content of the course. However, there are some issues involved with such requirements. One is the accuracy and appropriateness of the requirements, particularly those of standardized tests, for the purpose of the course. The TOEFL test is very limited in the kinds of skills it tests in English as a foreign language, and the TABE test is not a test of second language skills at all. Educational deliverers should be critical of standardized tests as screening devices to their programs in light of the real intentions of the program, particularly for learners who come from outside of North America. Also, on the assumption that many potentially successful immigrant candidates will be admitted but will still need language support, more post-admissions placement

testing and language programming is needed in post-secondary institutions.

A second issue concerns the availability of alternatives if some programs screen out potential learners on the basis of academic requirements. Since most Canadian post-secondary institutions require a certain score on the TOEFL test as the basic English language requirement, many deliverers offer TOEFL preparation courses from St. John's, Newfoundland to Victoria, B.C. In Manitoba, it was discovered that a number of adult immigrants with good professional qualifications in their home countries and aspirations to gain either the professional status they had in their home country or to get new qualifications in a profession in Canada were blocked from access to local post-secondary instituions' language training programs because of academic requirements to these courses. A committee of post-secondary institutions and others was formed, and the Manitoba government set up a six month English for Academic Purposes course with a training allowance to help immigrants to get the language skills necessary to enter local post-secondary institutions to get professional qualifications (Manitoba, Department of Education 1988).

A third issue concerns the willingness of post-secondary institutions in Canada to accept immigrant graduates of Canadian secondary schools into their programs. ESL courses have been relatively recently accepted as normal high school credits in the programs of high schools students in some provinces. The speculation on the part of some stakeholders is that Canadian post-secondary institutions will penalize applicants for having ESL rather than regular English credits. The outcome of this potential confrontation with respect to admissions requirements is yet to be seen.

II.2 Fees to Students

With respect to fees charged to immigrant students in Canada there are two rules of thumb: (1) immigrants can have any kind of language training they want if they are prepared to pay for it; and (2) in most areas of Canada in which there are at least moderate concentrations of immigrants, immigrants can get generic (i.e. basic, conversational, non-specialized language training) free of charge. At the expensive end of the scale, many universities, colleges, and private language schools offer programs of official language training on a profit making basis. Most are explicitly aimed at government sponsored or self-financing anglophones or francophones learning the other official language, government sponsored or self-financing foreign students bound for post-secondary training in Canada, or self-financing foreigners generally interested in improving their English or French language skills. For example, the University of New Brunswick offers various English language immersion programs, some including arrangements for homestays in Canadian households and cultural excursions. The university administration states that about 3 per cent of their clientele are immigrants or refugees. Total fees range from $2,330 for a three week module with all the special options to $134 per week for a

ten-hours-per-week program without residence, etc. (TESL Canada 1988). As another example, Concordia Univeristy offers to develop, on request, English for Special Purposes courses on topics such as technical writing for engineers, courses related to hospital administration, and police technology. Fees are not specified but are probably comparable to the university's English for Academic Purposes full-time program which costs $1,000 per session (semester ?) plus $25 for materials (TESL Canada 1988).

Most universities and colleges (also) have language training programs aimed at immigrants and foreign students who cannot be expected to pay high fees. For example, the University of Victoria has a program of evening courses in English costing $90/100 per course, and Algonquin College in Ottawa has an intensive daytime ESL program ($150 per session plus $10 book deposit), a part-time evening program ($82.50 per course plus $5 book deposit), and a week-end program ($100 per course) (TESL Canada 1988). Some colleges only accept students whose fees are covered by the CJS or a provincial language support program (e.g. Holland College in Charlottetown, P.E.I.); some other limit the space available to fee paying students, leaving most of the places for CJS sponsored students.

Some post-secondary institutions have higher fees for visa students than for Canadian students (e.g. Vancouver Community College), while others make no such distinction in fees (e.g. the University of Alberta). The Workers Educational Association, in a brief to the Task Force on Access to Professions and Trades in Ontario, notes that visa student fees are charged for language training courses in Ontario to certain groups of refugees who are not considered to be permanent residents. The Ontario Ministry of Colleges and Universities has prepared a document for refugees in that situation to be signed by an immigration officer attesting to permanent residency status, but it appears that these documents are little known and difficult to obtain (Workers Educational Association of Canada 1987).

Students sponsored in language training programs by the CJS or government programs in Alberta and Manitoba have their fees paid for them. In some provinces, for example, Ontario and Manitoba, all programs offered through school boards or with provincial support, such as workplace programs, have no tuition fees for the students. A large number of part-time and some full-time programs fall into this category. Similarly, programs offered in community agencies with provincial, federal, or other support, virtually never charge student fees. Alberta pays tuition and education costs ($3.50 per day) for landed immigrants not eligible for the CJS during their first year in Canada and for persons sponsored by relatives or by private groups (Alberta. ESL Secretariat 1988).

As an indication of the proportions of students who pay or do not pay tuition for <u>full-time</u> language training, I quote from a report on a survey of full-time ESL programs that was done in Alberta post-secondary institutions and school boards in 1988.

> Presently there are seven ways that enable an ESL student to manage financially to attend the ESL classes. These sources of training support range from government agencies down to the student himself. Some students are supported by CEIC - Canada Employment and Immigration Commission - 66% to be precise. AVT - Alberta Vocational Training - accounts for 13% of further support. 10% of support for the students stems from Social Services. Worker's Compensation accounts for only 1% of financial assistance. The last category, "other", gathers up the remaining 10%. This group usually has either paid cash, gone through student finance or by student visa. (Alberta. ESL Secretariat 1988)

Those students supported by CEIC and AVT would not have paid tuitions and it is assumed here that those on Social Services and Worker's Compensation also would not have paid. However, those in the "other" category probably paid fees. Please note that these figures do not represent the situation for part-time students. This quotation will be referred to in the next section, on financial support, as well.

To summarize this section, it is difficult for students to get into full-time language training without paying fees unless they (1) are sponsored through the CJS, (2) have their fees paid through a provincial program (e.g. the AVT), or (3) have access to a government supported program that does not charge fees (e.g. in school board programs in Ontario). The latter are not common. Specialized courses (e.g. English for academic purposes or focussing on language for a certain profession) without fees are few. Part-time courses are available both for fees and free of charge. The discussion above presented the question of fees from the point of view of what students have to pay. However, from the overall perspective of costs, the issue of who pays if the student does not is a complex one.

II.3 Financial Support

In addition to funding programs which cover all or part of the costs of tuition so that students do not have to pay (full) tuition fees, there are some ways in which immigrants can get assistance so that they can afford not to work in order to study language. The most common way for immigrants to get financial support for full-time language training is through the CJS, which offers training allowances to students in certain immigrant legal statuses. The length of training under the CJS varies from province to province. Provincial subsidies and/or special arrangements made with the federal government (e.g. in Quebec and Alberta) increase the time allowed for full-time training with allowances. Alberta has a program, Alberta Vocational Training (AVT), which provides full-time training with allowances for some immigrants who have more than one year residency and who are not eligible for CJS sponsorship because of their immigration status. The AVT sometime extends the time in full-time language training, with training allowance, from the time allowed under CJS. Manitoba provided full-time language training with training allowances through a combination of money from the CILT agreement and the province. Now that the CILT agreements are being terminated, it is

not clear what resources will be used. As noted above, Manitoba developed a special English for Academic Purposes course for immigrants planning to get post-secondary education. It provides training allowances as well as tuition for about fifteen students per six month course. Quebec has its own agreement with the federal government to provide full-time language training with allowances.

To provide a perspective on the numbers of students who are receiving training allowances, please refer to the Alberta quote in the preceeding section with regards to sources of support for full-time students as an example of one province's experience. However, as an example of training allowance distribution overall (full and part-time) in the community of students in language training, in Manitoba it is estimated that approximately 5,000 students were involved in full and part-time language training, 1,000 of which received training allowances (TESL Manitoba 1988).

Employment and Immigration has policies regarding training allowances for Canadians and immigrants for various kinds of training of which I do not have a comprehensive understanding. Outside of the CJS there is a tangle of regulations concerning immigrants' and others' access to training allowances. However, there are examples of various kinds of training support from a specific one-time program which indicates a range of kinds of support. In the fall of 1988, Employment and Immigration announced a one-time sum of money for language training and skills development for immigrant women who were destined for the labour force. Private and public organizations were permitted to bid on projects that they would like to deliver. All of the women were to receive language, life skills, and job skills training including classroom instruction and on-the-job training. Some of the money was targetted at women who were not considered to be job ready according to Employment and Immigration's criteria. These received a training allowance according to Employment and Immigrations' rules. Another group, who were considered to be job ready, were paid a wage of $250/300 per week for the time they spent working/learning, an income greater that those on training allowances received. In another project, learners were involved in a bakery co-operative where they learned English language, literacy, numeracy, and life skills, and their financial support came in the form of profits from the bakery (Employment and Immigration, personal communication).

A source of support for language learners in paying for their time to take language study is paid time release from their employers for language training. Provincial governments, school boards, colleges, unions, and other agencies have entered into relationships with employers to provide language training in the workplace. To the best of my knowledge, the most advantageous arrangement in students' favour generally is that the employer pays for half the time of the language training while the students take the other half of the time on their lunch hour or before or after work (e.g. the Ontario Federation of Labour, the North York School Board, Levi Strauss, personal communication). In many instances, the delivery agency provides the language training

(free of charge) entirely on the students' own time, on or off the employers' premises. The Ontario Federation of Labour has found a direct relationship between the time paid for by employers and the participation of women workers in ESL and literacy classes because of the responsibilities women have in the home and the competing demands for their time as a wage earner (Ontario Federation of Labour, personal communication). With regards to the initiation of workplace projects, in a few cases the employer takes the initiative (e.g. Levi Strauss or Halcyon Waterbed Incorporated) to set up a workplace program on its own or to contact an educational institution to create one, but more often a local education authority or a union is the catalyst.

With respect to support for learners in official language training among those receiving living allowances from social assistance, Unemployment Insurance, or Workers' Compensation, I do not have any examples, other than the Alberta chart above, which would indicate the programs or proportions of support for language training in the various provinces and municipalities. In the one-time program of language and skills training sponsored by Employment and Immigration for women destined for the labour force cited above, a considerable number of participants in some of the projects were social assistance beneficiaries. Since the relationship between Unemployment Insurance benefits and training are under current consideration, this source of support for language training is evidently in flux.

Finally, there is the following quotation from Rosalie Abella regarding training allowances:

> Training allowances offered by CEIC do not reflect the cost of living. It has been estimated, for example, that the total allowance, including a childcare allowance, for a single woman with one dependant living in a major urban centre would equal 62 per cent of the poverty-line income.
>
> ...Training allowances drop to $25 per week for those who live with working spouses or parents. This has the effect of keeping particularly women largely dependant and discourages them from applying for training. Trainees should receive an adequate allowance whether or not they are living with a working spouse or parent.
>
> Part-time trainees are not eligible for training allowances. For women with primary family responsibilities who choose to retrain on a part-time basis, this is an unreasonable penalty that may unduly delay access to or force premature entry into the labour force. Training allowances should be extended to part-time trainees. (Abella 1984, 172/3)

In sum, training allowances for full-time language training are inadequate, and unequal across the country in terms of the length of training they can support. Recepients who are considered to be job ready may get more than those who are not. The CJS is by far the greatest source of training allowances across the country. Part-time learners have virtually no sources of financial support available to them.

II.4 Elegibility for Training

Some programs for language training for immigrant adults impose restrictions on those who can enter. The CJS is available only to immigrants who are considered by Employment and Immigration counsellors to be destined for the labour force. Also, immigrants with family class and assisted relative status are not eligible for training allowances in CJS programs. As a result, immigrant women, particularly those not apparently destined for the labour force are disadvantaged since they predominate in the family class. In order to offer them some language training, Employment and Immigration established the SLTP specifically for women not destined for the labour force. However, SLTP programs do not offer as much training as the CJS, and training allowances are not available. A number of calls to have labour force criteria removed from language training programs have been made, for example, Abella (1984, 156), Alberta, ESL Secretariat (1988, 4), and Burnaby et al. (1987). The Women's Legal Education and Action Fund is in the process of challenging the CJS eligibility requirement in terms of its compliance with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom.

Abella (1984, 153/4) notes that immigrants who have obtained Canadian citizenship are not eligible for CILT programs, but there is conflicting evidence regarding students' access to language training programs supported by CILT on the basis of their legal status since the Department of the Secretary of State had no control over how the provinces spent the CILT money. Programs like the SLTP sometimes serve Canadian francophones in areas in which other English language training is not available as well as immigrants who have been in Canada for more than a decade (Burnaby et al. 1987). On the other hand, the Immigrant Vocational and Language Referral Centre in Calgary cites evidence of immigrants being denied ESL on the grounds that they had been in Canada long enough to learn English (Maguire and Lewis 1988, 22).

The list of sources of support for immigrants taking full-time language training in Alberta, quoted above in the section on fees, indicates that at least some immigrants on social assistance are permitted to take language training. Also, some of the programs funded under the one-time-only monies made available from Employment and Immigration in the fall of 1988 included women on social assistance (e.g. at Humber and Sheridan Colleges in Toronto). These programs combined ESL with employment skills training. Since rules governing social assistance vary across the country, it is not clear whether being on social assistance is a significant barrier to participation in language training or not. Since regulations regarding Unemployment Insurance are now being altered, comments on that will not be made here except to say that many are hopeful that the new regulations will facilitate access by immigrants who are unemployed to language training.

As adult basic education and literacy programs proliferate rapidly, many are

providing language training for immigrants who are not eligible for other kinds of language training and/or are unwilling to approach public educational institutions because of fears about their legal status. One literacy agency in Toronto indicated to me that it and other local literacy agencies were providing training to a number of people who are living in Canada illegally. The Adult Literacy Contact Centre newsletter (May 1989, 2) from British Columbia (an umbrella organization of B.C. literacy groups) listed "unacceptable immigration status (no social security number or residence permit) (ESL)" as one of ten "barriers to learning" identified to the centre by learners.

Because of differences in students' backgrounds and purposes for language learning, some institutions limit their language training programs to specific groups of students. For example, Simon Fraser University in British Columbia and Univeristy College of Cape Breton in Nova Scotia have only offered language training through specifically tailored programs for government sponsored foreign students, and Canadore College in Ontario focusses its ESL program on francophones (TESL Canada 1988). In geographic areas in which there are no other appropriate programs, immigrants may be denied access to language training by these restrictions.

II.5 Scheduling of Language Training

Evidently there is a need for both full and part-time training programs in order to suit the life circumstances of immigrants who need them. Since this study is not a survey, it is not possible to estimate here the proportion of immigrants who are making do with part-time training because they cannot afford and/or are not eligible for full-time training. In large centres where there are many immigrants, both full and part-time training is available from a variety of sources. In smaller centres, the choice is restricted.

Part-time classes are usually offered in the evenings by large educational institutions such as school boards and colleges. However, there is a need for classes in the daytime for women with family responsibilities and for shift workers. A large proportion of the SLTP programs have been daytime classes. Often, the learners in these programs are consulted about suitable timing for their needs. Other delivery agencies, such as Ontario Welcome House and Winnipeg School Board Number One, offer part-time classes in the mornings and afternoons to accommodate students who cannot come at night (Ontario Welcome House, personal communication; Manitoba, Department of Education 1988).

Some kinds of language training, mainly tutoring programs, allow students to establish their own schedule for learning. Examples include an ESL tutoring program out of McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, ESL distance education courses offered through the Independent Learning Centre of the Ontario Ministry of Education (at least half of the clientele of which are residents of Toronto who cannot access other kinds of language training because of employment and family responsibilities), and Help a Friend

Learn English, a telephone ESL tutoring program run by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship. As noted above, some immigrants are receiving training through one-to-one tutoring in literacy agencies; probably time factors influence their choice of delivery agency.

It is not always possible for immigrants to get into a language program when they want and need it. Large educational institutions normally work on a semester system so that many language training programs permit entry only in September or January. However, the CJS programs and some others, for example, those of Winnipeg School Board Number One, and most literacy agencies, offer continuous intake of students. Some programs are one time only offerings, such as most SLTP programs and some English in the workplace classes. The Ontario Federation of Labour is developing basic education and literacy courses in workplaces; these courses have only one intake, but they are short and a new course can be negotiated as soon as the last one finishes.

As the CJS programs have been systematically cut back in the past few years, students waiting to get into full-time training have been entering other programs, for example, the SLTP programs in St. John's, Newfoundland. Immigrants waiting for various kinds of bureaucratic processing after their arrival in Canada often get discouraged in their hope to get on with their lives. As an example of problems related to this situation, there has been discussion concerning offering language training at a reception centre for immigrants in Ottawa because some parties feel that such training, even on a short-term, modular basis, would be good for the immigrants' morale, while others think that the limited timeframe and the sporadic attendance of the immigrants (due to other appointments) would make such language training unworkable. Another example of students waiting for courses comes from the Calgary Immigrant Vocational and Language Referral Centre where Centre staff have identified several groups of immigrants in need of specialized training. However, it has taken the staff an average of six months to negotiate for funding and for a delivery agency to undertake the program, by which time some of the original students are no longer available to take the course (Maguire and Lewis 1988).

Evidently, there is a tension in providing language training between having it available when the students want and need it and pressure on delivery agencies to fit programs efficiently into their structures. While the inertia of the structures of large educational insitutions has been influenced in some cases toward change that accommodates immigrants' needs, much more could be done in the area of timing related to language training classes.

II.6 Transporation to Class

In this study, no evidence has been found of formal supports for official language training which provide transportation for students over long distances from isolated areas

to classes in larger centres. Distance education programs for students who are geographically isolated will be considered below. Instead, most examples of transportation provided to assist learners in attending classes has been within the urban confines of medium to large centres, mainly for SLTP programs. Learners who have been supported by transportation assistance have been: (1) those who did not know how to handle public transport; (2) those who could not afford it; and (3) those who had difficulty using it because of their age or because they had to travel with small children. Most SLTP programs studied for the two TESL Canada reports on the SLTP had some form of transportation assistance. Solutions to transportation included using taxis, hired vans driven by staff or volunteers, volunteers driving their own vehicles, and the provision of bus passes. The content of many classes involved instruction and experience in how to use public transportation. In one SLTP class, a group of older adults insisted that they be given bus passes rather than cash fares because, although they were well housed and fed by their younger relatives with whom they lived, they were not given any spending money and thus had no means of getting out to explore the city. In some centres, such as Kamploops and St. John's, SLTP personnel suggested that it was not wise to offer SLTP programs from January to March because the weather caused severe transportation problems (Burnaby et al. 1987).

II.7 Child Minding

Child minding services have become more common for a number of types of language training programs. They are a central service of most SLTP programs, and form part of a number of other programs such as some of those of the Toronto Board of Education (Toronto Board of Education 1989), most of those of Winnipeg School Division Number One (for children over two years old) (Manitoba, Department of Education 1988), the Parents and Preschoolers program of the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship (personal communication), and of Red River Community College's CJS program (Manitoba, Department of Education 1988). Some programs, for example some SLTP and Ontario Parent and Preschoolers programs, are sensitive to the fact that older adults may be the primary caregivers of young children and thus provide child minding for those programs aimed at older adults (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, personal communication; Burnaby et al. 1987). It is not usually expected that child minding services associated with adult language training will be structured at the level of registered daycare, but a number of programs have undertaken to provide child language assistance and Canadian orientation services, for example, in an SLTP program at the Mosaic settlement agency in Vancouver and in Parents and Preschoolers programs in Ontario where numbers of children warrant (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, personal communication; Burnaby et al. 1987). The Ontario Federation of Labour has found that the participation of women in its workplace language and basic education programs is directly related to the amount of paid company time allowed by the employer since the students/workers who can study on normal work time have the least disruption of time for their family responsibilities

(Ontario Federation of Labour).

The issues here, then, concern a realistic assessment of who requires child minding--parents only, or other caregivers. Also, the value and practicality of providing some form of language training and orientation to Canadian life in child minding programs should be considered.

II.8 Referral to Suitable Language and Skills Training Programs

It is very difficult for immigrants to Canada to learn what training opportunities are available to them, not only because they are in a new country and the educational system is unfamiliar to them but also because opportunities for language and vocational skills training are very poorly coordinated among federal, provincial, and local agencies and not, in general, planned to meet the progressive needs of immigrants as opposed to those of Canadian educated students. There is the question of getting access to initial language training (in light of the barriers discussed above), bridging between formal language training and other skills training, access to credentialling assessment and training programs, the battle between available, low-level employment and learning opportunities for a better job, and so on. According to Abella:

> Lack of awareness by immigrants of the range of language programs available and of the importance of learning one of the two official languages are both critical problems. There is insufficient publicity about the variety and type of community, school board, community college, university, voluntary, and government-run language programs. Part of this may be attributed to short-term funding and the resulting instability of language programs offered. (1984, 158)

A major gatekeeper of information for immigrants is the CEIC counsellor who decides, among other things, who gets to go to CJS training. There are many criticism of the network of information available to these counsellors, the pressures on them to get immigrants into jobs, however unsuitable, as soon as possible, their heavy caseloads, and their lack of training to deal with immigrants (Workers Educational Association of Canada 1987; Belfiore 1988). Abella (1984, 157) says:

> Another issue is the discretion a CEIC counsellor has in decising whether or not someone is eligible for language training. These counsellors play a critical role in controlling access both to language training and to occupational opportunities. This discretion should be reduced significantly and should be counterbalanced by appeal provisions. Counsellors, wherever possible, whould have expertise in the language and culture of new immigrants.

Each major educational and settlement group of services has its own network of information about programs available within its range of interest. However, few educational institutions are effective in counselling related to the specific needs of students with official language limitations, and few settlement agencies have the resources to be effective brokers to the entire range of educational possibilities available to their immigrant clients. The Workers Educational Association of Canada (WEA) has been experimenting with issues of educational brokerage since the early 1980s. Its major study in 1987/8 of educational brokerage in each province of Canada indicates that immigrants' needs are only one of many focusses in standard educational institutions across the country, even in high immigrant areas like Ontario (e.g. Carley 1988, 14). A WEA educational hotline and outreach service which has been operating in Toronto since 1986, encompassing all level of education, has attracted more the 50 per cent immigrants and refugees to its service (Workers Educational Association of Canada 1987). I evaluated this service in comparison with others in the Toronto area in 1988 and found it to be superior to all the others in the comparison because of its approachability, breadth, and depth of service (Burnaby and Abbey 1988).

Calls for comprehensive brokerage of information for immigrants on language training, vocational training, and settlement services are numerous. For example, I was a member of the Sub-committee on Language Training (SCOLT) of the Settlement Program and Planning Committee, an intergovernmental committee with represention from the Ontario and federal governments, OCASI, TESL Ontario, school boards, and colleges from 1981 to 1985. We developed an extensive plan for brokerage of information for immigrants in the Toronto area, including an assessment service, but the recommendations of that committee were never released. Ontario Welcome House, a network of centres run directly by the provincial government which provide assessment, information, some settlement services, and language training in Ontario's golden triangle, used to meet immigrants at the international airport in Toronto to give them information about services. This service has long since been discontinued (1978) because of the volume of work. Today, the centres provide counsellors who can work with immigrants in a range of languages to help them with settlement problems and get them into language training in Welcome House and elsewhere. Some immigrants complain that there are not nearly enough counsellors to meet the need (Workers Educational Association of Canada 1987).

The best examples of brokerage and referral services for immigrants in Canada are those in Edmonton and Calgary. Run by coordinating committees of local ESL delivery agencies and community organizations and supported by the provincial government, these services provide ESL and vocational counselling in the immigrant's first language, appraise English and first language proficiency, make referrals to suitable language and training programs, follow up on a short-term basis with all clients, follow up on 20 per cent of clients on a long-term basis to determine their satisfaction with the programs they were in, and liaise with delivery and community agencies to coordinate services. They advocate for individuals and groups of clients. For example, they have been coordinating a group

of immigrant nurses in order to help them get suitable credentials. They hold career planning workshops for immigrants. They often see a client five or six times for counselling over the period of a year or more (Maguire and Lewis 1988; Alberta ESL Secretariat 1988).

Deliverers of language training programs use a variety of methods to attract students to specific programs. Some programs do not advertise since they only accept students sponsored by Employment and Immigration or they get all the clients they can handle without advertising. Others rely on their usual method of information dissemination, such as calendars, to recruit students. Recently, institutions, particularly community agencies, have undertaken community outreach operations in order to get information about language training and support to those immigrants who have not been able to access language training otherwise. It is at least in part on account of the ability of community agencies to conduct effective outreach to students who are otherwise hard to contact that major educational deliverers such as colleges and school boards have begun to offer language training cooperatively with community agencies. English in the workplace programs bring information about language training and the training itself to immigrant workers. In some cases outreach from delivery agencies attracts employers to take part in a program, or employers may approach a delivery agency. This situation leaves open the question of whether the workers really want the program or whether it is to some extent forced on them. The Ontario Federation of Labour has a basic education program, which can include language training, publicised primarily through unions although information about the program is also directed to employers.

In areas of the country where there are few immigrants, the problem is more one of getting suitable services for immigrants in place than it is of getting information out to immigrants. Even in Newfoundland and Labrador it is difficult to get information on services out to all immigrants (Hajee 1983), but a directory of language training and settlement services has been compiled and is expected to be updated regularly. The Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture put out a directory of language training services (not settlement services) once or twice in the early 1980s but has abandonned this effort because of the expense and difficulty of collecting this vast amount of information and keeping it current (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, personal communication). A directory of advanced ESL and English for academic purposes training is maintained in Manitoba because there are few enough such programs they can be kept track of and because of the good network linking the relevant institutions (Manitoba, Department of Education 1988).

Lack and incompleteness of counselling and educational brokerage services for immigrants clearly compounds the problem of the lack of coherence in language training and settlement services in every part of the country. In areas of the country in which there is a considerable amount of immigration, the complexity of the services available is such that it requires a stable, well funded, and large brokerage organization to gather all

the necessary information, update it, and get it out to the immigrants who need it and their advocates.

II.9 Programs for Immigrants with Special Needs

The question of accessibility to programs for immigrants with specials needs (i.e. those with physical or developmental handicaps) can be addressed in various ways. With respect to the accessibility of buildings or facilities, pressure to improve facilities often comes from groups which advocate for people with disabilities and from governments. Thus, many educational institutions have improved their facilities for access by people with motor disabilities. A number of people with motor disabilities are also served by distance education programs (to be discussed in the following section). However, it is rare for language training programs to be established specially for groups of immigrants with specific handicaps. People from the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, through its Newcomer Language and Orientation Classes program, have worked with the Canadian Hearing Society to develop an ESL program for hard or hearing immigrants. Also, the Immigrant Vocational and Language Referral Centre identified a group of mentally handicapped immigrants who needed language training and worked with the Vocational Rehabilitation and Research Institute in Calgary to develop a program for them. Clearly, awareness of the potential for creating access for immigrants with special needs to language training is only beginning to be raised. There is the challenge and potential for adding new links, agencies focussing on services to people with special needs, to the complex network of service providers to immigrants.

II.10 Location of Training and Distance Education

In this section, discussion will focus on factors relating to the locations in which language training programs are held. First, consideration will be given to location factors of programs in urban areas which are relatively well served by language training programs; in other words, the focus will be on the needs of that part of the student population which require special consideration regarding location of programs. In the second part, the discussion will focus on programs and strategies for students who live in areas on Canada where there are few if any language training programs.

It is ideal for almost any educational program that classes be held as close to the students' home or work as possible. As noted above in the discussion on transportation, barriers concerning students' getting to class may sometimes be alleviated by providing transportation and/or by helping students to learn how to use public transportation. Other concerns about location include making a special effort to have classes as close to the students' homes as possible for evening programs since some students, particularly women, may not want to travel far at night. Some students find formal educational institutions

intimidating or associate them with unpleasant past experiences; therefore, locating classes in some other kind of building may alleviate this problem. Other students want to study in places where they feel comfortable in the cultural atmosphere. I once taught a class, which included a number of Moslem students from the Middle East, in classrooms that the delivery agency had rented from a synagogue. Fortunately, my students were gracious enough to forgive the institution for the difficult position they had been placed in and stayed in the class. Classes held in religious buildings or ethnic agencies that the students can identify with often attract certain students who would not have felt comfortable studying elsewhere. Classes for women who are prohibited for cultural reasons from studying in public places have been held in the homes of students or in common rooms in apartment building. Also, there are programs for seniors held in seniors' residences or activity centres. Classes held in workplaces allow students to study in a known place with no extra travel time to add to their schedule. Tutoring programs, such as those offered by a number of literacy agencies and some provincial programs such as Ontario's Help a Friend Learn English (discussed further below), often allow the student to choose the location for learning.

Solutions of these sorts to problems relating to location of classes have largely come about through the involvement of settlement, community, and ethnic agencies, employers, and unions in providing language training. Employment and Immigration, in order to develop facilities for the implementation of the Immigrant Settlement Assistance Program (ISAP), has encouraged the creation and evolution of local agencies to meet immigrants' settlement needs. The SLTP and provincial initiatives, for example in Manitoba, have added incentives for agencies to offer language training as well as their other services. Outreach and funding on the part of provincial governments, individual colleges and school boards, and unions have involved employers in language training. Thus, solutions to location of language training such as those described above are usually brought about through cooperation between an educational deliverer and an agency, employer, or union. The facilitation of language training through literacy programs has been long standing and is generally not an intentional focus of these programs.

One further point with respect to problems of location of classes for immigrants in urban settings where language training programs are available concerns the use of distance education programs for language training. It appears that the distance ESL courses offered by Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia, and broadcast language training programs such as "Speak English for Yourself" in Manitoba are intended for and used by urban immigrants who have barriers from attending local language training programs as least as much as by immigrants who live at a distance from available classes.

Although immigrants are tending more and more to settle in areas of high immigrant concentration, there are always some who end up living in areas in which settlement and language training services are not available because of the low level of demand. Some traditional solutions to this problem include Frontier College's earlier

program of "Canadianization" for immigrant workers in work camps and mines where volunteer teachers worked alongside immigrant workers and taught them English in the evenings. Also, Laubach Literacy, a network which places individual learners with tutors for basic education study, was a major delivery agency for ESL in the Maritime provinces for many years. A common solution in areas of low immigrant density is to put immigrants in with other learners in basic education or upgrading programs. For example, Fairview College in Alberta offers a high school diploma preparation course for immigrant ESL learners as well as English mother tongue speakers, and the University of Saskatchewan offers an English for academic purposes course for native and non-native speakers of English to prepare prospective students for study in the university (TESL Canada 1988). Also, immigrant language learners are put into courses with Native or francophone learners. For example, some Vietnamese immigrants were included in an evening class for francophones in Labrador City (Kergoat 1988).

The following are references to programs and initiatives that appear to be having some immediate impact on the language training needs of immigrants who live in areas not well served by regular language training programs. Some SLTP programs have taken place in communities which have little or no other language training available. For that reason, the composition of the student groups in such SLTP classes ressembled more that of a CJS or regular school board class than the SLTP target of women not destined for the labour force (e.g. in Prince Rupert, B.C. and Fredericton, New Brunswick) (Burnaby et al. 1987; TESL Canada 1989). A number of educational institutions which would not offer language training as a course because of low demand have tutoring programs (e.g. Fraser Valley College in British Columbia) (TESL Canada 1988).

Several year ago seven provinces cooperated in funding the development of an ESL distance education program, largely developed by the Open Learning Agency in British Columbia. The package contains English audio-tape and foreign and English language print materials and is offered with telephone tutoring at four levels of difficulty. British Columbia now provides it to students through CEIC funding, and Manitoba offers it through its Department of Education. In these two provinces, fewer than 100 students are served in each province per year. In Ontario the program has been adapted by the Independent Learning Centre of the Ministry of Education to address the needs of learners who are not literate in their mother tongue, thus necessitating the use of a local tutor as well as the telephone teacher from the Independent Learning Centre. Learners are recruited through other delivery and settlement agencies in such a way as not to compete with existing local services. Up to September 1989, the Independent Learning Centre has been delivering the first two levels of this program to close to 1,000 students per year. The higher two levels are being initiated in September 1989. As noted above, in Ontario and Manitoba at least, a majority of the learners using this program are in areas in which other language training programs are available. In addition to these provincial government uses of the ESL distance course, other deliverers such as school boards and colleges can purchase the materials and deliver them themselves. Thus, it is

difficult to estimate the numbers of students who are being reached by this program.

A search through the directory of the Canadian Association for University Continuing Education (1987 and 1988) for listings of distance education courses relating to official language training reveals that virtually nothing suitable for immigrant learners is offered. The University of Calgary in 1987 and 1988 had a course entitled "Basic English" but it is unclear whether this is an upgrading course for native speakers or a course in ESL. Athabasca University and the Tele-university of the Universite du Quebec, among others, offered French as a second language, and Tele-universite also offered anglais langue seconde. From the context and description it appears that these latter courses are intended to teach a second official language to Canadians who already speak the other. A number of other universities offered a range of other languages as second language (e.g. German, Spanish, etc.) at elementary and advance levels. Simon Fraser University and the University of Saskatchewan offered ESL teacher training by distance education (Association for University Continuing Education 1987 and 1988). As a member of the current team of evaluators of Contact North, an Ontario government program to enhance the technology of distance education in northern Ontario, I have reviewed data which indicates that Contact North facilities have not been used to support official language training aimed at immigrants in Ontario although it has supported several English upgrading programs for Native students in isolated northern communities.

In terms of electronic and print media initiatives to support official language training, one regrets that an old TV Ontario production called "Castle Zaremba" received little air time about a decade ago. Currently, TV Ontario is working with a private Ottawa firm, with financing from Employment and Immigration, to produce a television ESL series. The results are yet to be seen. The Manitoba government has sponsored a series of eight fifteen-minute broadcasts on English as a second language, called "Speak English for Yourself," which are based on a BBC series and focus on settlement information and English language at the basic level. In British Columbia, the owner of a private radio operation, which broadcasts to the Indo-Canadian community on a subscription basis (one has to have a converter costing $131 to receive the broadcasts), has developed on her own initiative a series of ESL programs about practical, everyday topics, again on the model of BBC ESL broadcasts. The programs are aired daytime and evening three times a week in fifteen minute segments. Commentaries are made in Punjabi. Print support materials are offered at no cost. Prizes, such as free dinners out, will be offered to learners who can correctly answer question relating to what has been taught. The target is East Indian women who would not go out of the home, even if barriers described above were overcome, to take language classes. The initiative is described here more for its potential than its use in distance education.

On the print side, a number of newspapers offer educational services to educators concerning how to use their newspapers as an educational tool. Most provinces or regions of the country have newspapers in simple English intended to support ESL and literacy

learning and funded by provincial governments entirely or in conjunction with newspaper companies (e.g. The West Coast Reader from British Columbia and The East Coast Reader from Nova Scotia).

Action is being taken on a few fronts to improve and coordinate provision of language training to people who need it in isolated areas. For example, the Alberta Teachers of English as a Second Language (ATESL) have joined a group called the Language and Literacy Resource Service which aims to bring resources and professional support for literacy and ESL to outlying areas of Alberta (Alberta Teachers of English as a Second Language 1989).

Clearly, strategies often considered appropriate to reach populations at a distance from the primary source of educational delivery are being used as much in official language training to reach urban populations with personal barriers to access to language training as they are to bridge geographic gaps. While the former uses are to be commended and encouraged, the latter still have a long way to go. Not only can more and better distance education programs be developed, but educational authorities and interested agencies in areas where few immigrants live can be encouraged and supported to provide more local, appropriate training.

III. Equality of Condition

Equality of condition relates less to access by students to classes on a physical, temporal, or financial basis (removing "external barriers") and more on the conditions for their success in the content and conduct of the program relating to assumptions about where they are starting from and where they want to go (removing "internal barriers"). In this section, discussion will focus particularly on two groups of students: (1) those who are not confident about their ability to succeed in ordinary language training classes, often including people with low levels of education and literacy skills in their mother tongue, but also including students whose personal and cultural backgrounds make access to ordinary Canadian language training a challenge; and (2) those students who have attained basic language skills in Canadian official languages but are blocked from access to higher and more specialized language training that would permit them to gain access to employment suitable to their skills and training in their home country.

III.1 Learners with Low Levels of Confidence

Learners' confidence in their ability to learn a new language is associated with a number of factors. For those who have had little or no formal education in their home country, Canada's large educational institutions are threatening. Some such learners do not think that it is their place to be formally educated, while others are just bewildered

by the size, the structure, and the bureaucracy of formal education. Others may have had unsuccessful or unpleasant experiences with formal education in their home countries. Still others may not be so much threatened by the system itself, but may be traumatized by events that they lived through in their home country or on their way to Canada. A number of strategies are used to attract learners who are not confident in their ability to learn and to provide them with learning opportunities in which they can experience sucess right away. One major strategy of this sort is to provide outreach and even instruction in the students' mother tongue as well as in English or French. Community agencies often conduct outreach in the language of target student groups, sometimes with the help of the local ethnic press, media, and cultural and religious organizations. The immigrant language and vocational referral centres in Calgary and Edmonton and Ontario Welcome House in Toronto provide counselling, assessment, and referrals in students' mother tongues. Print advertising for courses offered by governments (e.g. Ontario Welcome House) and educational institutions (e.g. the Toronto Board of Education) are often printed in a number of languages.

Bilingual instruction involves a bilingual teacher or an official language monolingual teacher and a bilingual assistant teaching English or French with explanations in the students' mother tongue. In classes which aim to teach citizenship and/or orientation content as well as language, such content is discussed in the mother tongue and relevant English or French vocabulary and expressions are introduced and practised. Bilingual instruction in language and in citizenship classes is offered by many agencies and school boards in areas in which it is possible to recruit classes of homogeneous language backgrounds. For example, the Toronto Board of Education offers both ESL and citizenship classes in eight languages. Other examples include Winnipeg School Board Number One and a number of SLTP programs. Other programs also make use of the students' mother tongues. The Ontario Ministry of Citizenship's Help a Friend Learn English telephone tutoring program provides print materials in a number of languages and, in some cases, sets learners up with bilingual tutors through ethnic agencies such as the Centre for Spanish Speaking Peoples. The distance education ESL program developed by the Open Learning Agency in British Columbia and currently used in British Columbia, Manitoba, and Ontario has print materials in a number of languages. The radio ESL program, noted above, broadcast from a private radio station in Vancouver introduces English for use in practical situations with explanations in Punjabi.

Some learners are not confident about studying with students other than those from their own ethnic group. Even if the instruction is all in English or French, they can speak their mother tongue among themselves and help each other understand. It is partly for this reason that community, settlement, and ethnic agencies have come to play an important part in language training delivery in Canada in the past decade. Large educational deliverers such as colleges and school boards are forming partnerships with such agencies because these agencies are usually in a position to recruit and teach target groups of students in an atmosphere which the students can relate to. It has been

observed that students appreciate the presence of a worker in the institution where they take language classes who speaks their mother tongue even if that worker is not their language teacher, for example, in SLTP classes held in settlement or ethnic agencies (Burnaby et al. 1987). Many of the bilingual classes offered by school boards are conducted in cooperation with and on the premises of agencies. A considerable number of the SLTP programs have been with learners of homogeneous ethnic backgrounds with some form of mother tongue support. Cultural considerations, especially those relating to the kinds of people women can be with in public, have led not only to mono-ethnic classes but classes exclusively for women (e.g. a class for Moslem women conducted by the York School Board). Indeed, students may drop out if women and men are put in the same class if that is not considered to be correct, for example, Punjabi women who dropped out of a Punjabi seniors' class in Manitoba (Burnaby et al. 1987). On the other hand, some institutions have set up programs that encourage and facilitate contact between immigrants and Canadians. While the Settlement Branch of Employment and Immigration has programs which link refugees with Canadian families for general settlement purposes, linkage strategies have also been used by educational deliverers directly related to their language training programs, for example, in Changing Together: A Centre for Immigrant Women in Edmonton and Red River Community College in Winnipeg.

Many learners are reluctant to enrol in language classes because they are afraid of revealing their failures in front of others. One solution to this concern is to provide private tutoring for at least the first phase of language training. The Calgary Immigrant Women's Centre provides individual tutoring in the learners' homes for about six weeks for those who need it before introducing them to a small group which meets near their homes for another six weeks. Only after that are they placed in a regular class of about twenty students. The need for privacy on the part of some learners may account in part for the numbers of immigrants who turn to literacy agencies with one-to-one tutoring rather than to regular ESL classes. Other programs which seem to be reaching non-confident learners include the ESL distance education courses in British Columbia, Manitoba, and Ontario and the Ontario Ministry of Culture's Help a Friend Learn English telephone tutoring program. For those non-confident learners who can be persuaded to try a language class, good referral, assessment, recruitment, and placement for students can make a considerable difference in the retention of learners in language training in that learners in a class of others at their own level and taught in such a way as to ensure success will get over their lack of confidence in their ability to learn.

In a similar vein, some learners are reluctant to enrol in language training because they are concerned that the program will not address their needs. Again, recruitment, referral, and assessment are important factors in getting appropriate groups of students with compatible skills and interests together. Once the class is formed, it is important that the learners be consulted about the content and methods of the class. The Manitoba Department of Education has worked with settlement and ethnic agencies, before and since the advent of the SLTP, to assist them in developing and implementing ESL

programs. As part of this, Department personnel have worked with the agencies and the students to negotiate the curriculum. Students have, in some cases, been involved in selecting their teacher (Burnaby et al. 1987).

Finally, one needs to consider the spectrum of language training programs regarding links between programs that engage non-confident learners in language training and those that are less protected. While there are a few learners who are not prepared to move out of protected language learning situations, others can and want to gain access to regular language training once they have tasted some success. A few agencies, such as the Calgary Immigrant Women's Centre, provide the links through a graduated program within their own agency. However, most learners must go from a protected learning environment in one agency to another kind of institution for further language training. Good referral, such as that provided by the referral centres in Calgary and Edmonton, helps a great deal in getting learners into their next course successfully. However, referral cannot take the place of good coordination. The Manitoba Department of Education has a policy of establishing and encouraging programs for non-confident learners that aim to prepare these learners for entry into the regular system of ESL programs. This approach combined with the networks of deliverers to coordinate programming, as discussed above under coordination, prepares learners to enter the system AND allerts deliverers to receive them when the learners are ready.

III.2 Learners with Low Levels of Literacy in their Mother Tongue

Learners with low levels of literacy in their mother tongue have severe difficulties in participating in regular language training as normally provided by educational deliverers. Not only does this training involve English and French literacy from early in the program, but it also assumes certain cultural knowledge about how to behave in a North American formal learning situation. Although the acquisition of literacy is not a natural human attribute (unlike the acquisition of oral language), people do not have to learn to be literate twice. In other words, they can transfer most of their literacy skills in their first language to a second language. Therefore, it is possible for them to begin to learn about literacy in the second language almost as soon as they start to study the language and they can use their literacy skills to help them learn the second language through the use of notes, dictionaries, etc. Learners without these skills, therefore, do not have these learning tools and are unable to cope with second language reading and writing that are used in class. Also, a large proportion of immigrants who have low levels of literacy have had limited if any experience with formal education in their home country, and what experience they might have had is likely to have been in a form that is very different from Canadian cultural norms. As a result of increased accessibility of international travel, global economic and political factors which result in the movement of groups of people out of their home countries, and Canadian immigration and refugee policies, Canada has been receiving a higher proportion of people with low levels of literacy than it did in the early

days of the official language training system in the late 1960s or early 1970s.

The approach that a number of deliverers have taken to providing language training to students with low levels of literacy has been to designate certain classes as ESL/FSL literacy classes, for example, Lethbridge Community College, the Saskatchewan Institute for Applied Sciences and Technology (Wascana), Camosun College in Victoria, British Columbia, most boards of education in Toronto, and Winnipeg School Board Number One. The Toronto Board of Education offers a number of unilingual (English) ESL literacy courses plus bilingual ESL literacy courses in eight languages. To be successful, these programs generally need to take into consideration the factors relating to needs of non-confident learners as discussed above. Classes need to be learner centred, the curriculum negotiated, the pace slow with time for adequate practice (TESL Canada 1989). Many deliverers have learned the hard way that working with ESL literacy learners is very different from work with more educated language learners. For example, some SLTP programs attracted learners with low levels of literacy, either deliberately or because of the accessibility of the programs. Teachers in these situations were generally not prepared to handle the situation, and some coped better than others by learning new teaching techniques quickly, by dividing the class into smaller groups, or by refusing to take learners who were not literate (Burnaby et al. 1987). Similarly, under the one-time-only funding released by Employment and Immigration in the fall of 1988 to train immigrant women destined for the labour force, one program undertaken by a school board with Latin American refugees with low levels of literacy had disappointing results in terms of what it had expected to accomplish. Another example is the Canadian Farmworkers Union ESL Crusade in British Columbia for Punjabi farm labourers. An evaluation of this program suggested the use of full-time Pubjabi tutors rather than anglo volunteers because of the need for bilingual teaching and literacy work (Jackson 1987).

Various kinds of balances may be established between the focus on oral language learning and literacy development. While most ESL/FSL literacy programs are aimed at beginning second language learners, one program delivered by a community agency in Vancouver is addressed to learners who have at least a conversational level of fluency in English and Punjabi but lower than functional levels of literacy in either language. Lessons alternate between English and Punjabi day by day and focus more on literacy than oral language development (Cumming, forthcoming). Alternatively, the distance education ESL courses offered by the Ontario Independent Learning Centre are primarily oral language courses, but the Independent Learning Centre is working to make them accessible to learners who are not literate through the use of tutors.

It was not possible in the study to investigate how literacy organizations approach the teaching of immigrant learners who come to them with language and/or literacy learning needs. Some literacy agencies have staff and tutors who are trained in language teaching methods. The Ontario Federation of Labour's program for setting up basic education courses in Ontario workplaces is based on the premise that the course content

be identified by the learners. As a result, more than half of the courses that are currently being run are described as ESL, while the rest are basic education/literacy. One presumes that some proportion of these courses are ESL literacy. Apparently, British Columbia literacy agencies are also being approached by many ESL learners since, in a list of ten barriers to learning as identified by learners, third was that ESL classes were too large and fourth was that ESL classes were too full (Adult Literacy Contact Centre 1989). It is not clear from the context of the report whether the B.C. literacy agencies are operating ESL classes or whether they are receiving requests for help from those immigrants who cannot get access to other kinds of ESL programs. The Saskatchewan ESL association blames lack of funding and diversification of regular ESL programs on the fact that half of the learners served by the literacy program of the Regina Public Library are ESL learners. It notes that the province cannot rely on the good will of voluntary literacy tutors to carry out a national policy of official language training (Saskatchewan Council for Educators of Non-English Speakers 1988).

An additional strategy for working with immigrants who are not literate in their mother tongue has recently emerged, namely to teach them literacy in their mother tongue before or at the same time as they approach literacy in English or French. The Vancouver English and Punjabi example cited above could be seen as one example, as could the Employment and Immigration sponsored school board program for Latin American refugees since it presented both Spanish and English literacy. While mother tongue literacy programs have evolved mainly in ethnic and community agencies (Klassen 1987), educational institutions have become involved as well. For example, the Toronto Board of Education offers mother tongue literacy programs in four languages in cooperation with agencies.

With this growing overlap of language training and literacy, there is an urgent need to coordinate teacher training, curriculum development, materials dissemination, and program planning to consolidate initiatives, resources, and knowledge of literacy and official language training. A joint federal/Ontario project has been launched to develop and literacy and language training resource centre to be operated by the Metro Toronto Library Board. This initiative is interesting in that support for language training and literacy are usually kept separate in government funding programs. While this project focusses on resources (materials), another has been established to meet the need in the Toronto area for the training of mother tongue literacy instructors. The organization is called the Canadian Multilingual Literacy Centre. To date it has offered training for instructors but it has plans to develop curriculum, advise deliverers of mother tongue literacy programs, and collect relevant materials (Canadian Multilingual Literacy Centre 1989). It appears that Alberta is considering some form of coordinating action relating to ESL and literacy since the Alberta TESL association has been commissioned to develop a brief on ESL and literacy for the provincial government (Alberta Teachers of English as a Second Language 1989).

III.3 Language Training for Accreditation and Job Mobility

The focus of discussion moves here from learners with difficulties in entering any kind of language training to those with difficulties in getting the system to provide them with the specific kind of language training they need. It is not within the scope of this study to get into the details of problems of access by immigrants to trades and professions except as far as language proficiency is concerned. Therefore, I must skirt around complex issues such as recognition of foreign credentials and access by immigrants to further training needed by them to meet the demands of Canadian employers, professional bodies, and trades regulators. Fortunately, the reports of Abella (1984) and McDade (1988) have addressed these issues, and one looks forward to the report of the Task Force on Access to Trades and Professions in Ontario.

There is no lack of evidence to support the view that language training for immigrants in Canada is overwhelmingly aimed at conversational fluency and general language abilities and not focussed on the specific language needs of groups of students who want to enter particular occupations. The following references illustrate the point:

> Most courses are at the general proficiency level. Very few advanced courses, and almost no vocationally oriented ones, are available. This means few opportunities exist for skilled or professional immigrants to acquire the level of expertise needed for employment in their field of speciality. An extended program should be available for these immigrants, some of whom need advanced levels of English/French to meet trades licensing requirements. Consideration should also be given to replacing the time limitation on CEIC programs by a "desired competency level" goal.
>
> Bridging programs between the National Training Act's language program and skill training programs should be investigated. A new type of course might combine skill acquisition with the vocabulary training in English/French needed to obtain a job in a particular area. (Abella 1984, 157)

> Immigrant workers may encounter the additional barrier of inability to communicate on the job in one of the official languages. Language training programs established by the federal and provincial governments are in most cases designed to impart general conversational skills, without attention to technical, job-specific language requirements. (McDade 1988, vii)
>
> The unemployment and under-employment of skilled immigrants creates the kind of labour market ineffeciency that the CJS was designed to address. ...There is a variety of related issues that must be resolved to ensure equitable treatment of foreign-trained professional and tradespersons. Perhaps the most important is the need for technical language training. Many immigrants will continue to be unable to pursue their vocation, even in the face of revised entry procedures, because of inadequate ability to communicate on the job. Community organizations and educational institutions that currently deliver federal-provincial language programs should be asked by program administrators to assess the need for technical language training in specific occupations in their region. This needs assessment could form the basis of an extension of current language training program funds

> through the Canadian Jobs Strategy. In instances where there is a labour market shortage of a given skill, employers could be asked to participate in the financing of technical language training to facilitate rapid entry of skilled immigrants to those occupations. (McDade 1988, 44)

Maguire and Lewis (1988), in their report on the first three years of operation of the Immigrant Vocational and Language Referral Centre in Calgary, indicate that they were able to identify a number of groups of immigrants who needed specialized language training from foreign trained nurses to mentally handicapped people. While they were able to report success in getting a course established for the mentally handicapped learners, they noted that they had great difficulty in getting the funding or the mechanisms of the institutional delivery agencies moving fast enough to set up the occupation specific programs before many of these learners had dispersed, having found other solutions, however unsatisfactory.

A scanning of TESL Canada's Inventory of English language Training for Non-Native Speakers of English at the Post-Secondary Level in English-Medium Institutions in Canada (1988) indicates that by far the majority of language training programs offered in these institutions are organized on the basis of the target language proficiency of the students rather than on any kind of topic area. If a existing category of specialization were to be identified, it would be in areas that help enroled or prospective immigrant and/or foreign students meet the entrance language criteria for the institution or adapt to the language demands of study in that institution once they have been admitted.

At the level of language training programs that operate for immigrants in the workplace, there are some government sponsored language training programs in every province except, to my knowledge, in the Atlantic provinces. Although detailed information about the content of these programs is not readily available because of the specific nature of each program, it is my impression that most relate to workers at the lower end of the employment scale, and communication in the workplace is likely to benefit more than the job mobility of the learners. In Ontario, the approach of the Ministry of Citizenship is to sponsor workplace programs under the rubric of multiculturalism in the workplace rather than English in the workplace on the assumption that linguistic and cultural accommodation is a two way street in which immigrant and native Canadian employees have to work out an effective system of communication, working relationships, and values. Thus, management as well as worker programs are set up, the former on communication strategies and anti-racism while the latter focus on language and cultural orientation and language.

The importance of workplace programs is undisputed and they need to be expanded. However, their current range appears to leave a gap in service in which underemployed workers with education and skills obtained in their country of origin lack support in their efforts to improve their job status. The Ontario Federation of Labour's

program to promote basic education courses in the workplace has the potential to reach underemployed workers at whatever level they are at in their company as long as they are members of a union. The learner directed approach of this program lends a great deal of promise to the potential of the program to address worker mobility issues, but does not help those who are employed in non-unionized positions, however underemployed.

A few of the educational deliverers in areas which receive many immigrants regularly offer language training courses with a special focus. For example, George Brown College in Toronto has an English for Science and High Technology course; Ryerson Polytechnical Institute has an ESL Technical Communication course; and the Alberta Vocational Centre in Calgary offers ESL courses related to sewing, daycare worker/home maker, food services worker, and general shop English (TESL Canada 1988). The Toronto Board of Education regularly offers courses combining ESL with skills such as computer skills or cooking (Toronto Board of Education 1989). All these courses are part of the regular calendars of these institutions. Other deliverers are prepared to mount special courses as need is identified. For example, Red River Community College in Winnipeg has offered a course in English for professionally trained women. Often special courses are mounted when a number of interested parties (deliverers, agencies, government, and the students themselves) cooperate, for example, on a telephone skills course for a group of immigrant women who were about to lose their jobs because of lack of these skills, or on a course combining day care worker training with language skills for women associated with the day care used by Winnipeg School Board Number One (Manitoba. Department of Education 1988). A group of Polish doctors who had received their licenses to practice medicine in Canada became concerned about the difficulties their more recently arrived colleagues were having in preparing to pass their licensing examinations; with the cooperation of the Toronto Board of education, the Polish Congress set up a language training program for Polish trained immigrant doctors (Toronto Board of Education 1989). The Immigrant Vocational and Language Referral Centre in Calgary offers modular career planning workshops to immigrants (Maguire and Lewis 1988).

The Employment and Immigration funding released in 1988 for language training combined with job skills training for immigrant women involved on-the-job work experience for which learners who were not considered to be job ready were paid a training allowance and those considered job ready were paid wages. In British Columbia, a considerable proportion of the CJS programs (or those of a previous incarnation of the CJS) were English in the workplace programs. Currently, the focus is on ESL training programs offered by educational deliverers to pre-employed students in conjunction with training in various job skills.

As noted above, the most frequently offered language training programs for special purposes are those that prepare immigrants and foreign students to enter or succeed in courses of study in post-secondary institutions. A common course offering in all kinds of delivery institutions (except for agencies) is preparation for the Test of English as a

Foreign Language (TOEFL), the most common English language test used by Canadian post-secondary institutions as an admissions requirement for non-English speaking students. Institutions which offer degree programs in specialized topics sometimes have language training in these areas for prospective students (e.g. the British Columbia Institute of Technology in Burnaby or Malaspina College in Nanaimo, B.C.). Fraser Valley College in Abbotsford, B.C. has a tutoring program which can help prospective students prepare for undergraduate training in fields such as mechanics, nursing, computer sciences, and so on (TESL Canada 1988). The Manitoba government supports a six month course with a training allowance to prepare immigrant students for entrance into post-secondary education (Manitoba, Department of Education 1988). Some post-secondary institutions offer credit courses which link content such as Canadian studies or psychology with language training in the vocabulary and language functions of that subject matter, for example, York University in Toronto, Ottawa University, and Grant McEwan Community College in Edmonton (TESL Canada 1988). The Alberta Vocational Institute in Calgary has established an institution-wide policy on language to prevent discrimination against students on the basis of their language backgrounds; the policy relates to access to education, respect for language diversity, language across the curriculum, staff training, and testing (Alberta Teachers of English as a Second Language 1989).

Although there are instances of language training related to vocational and academic content such as those discussed above, these courses are the exception rather than the rule. According to McDade, "opportunities for learning English or French in job-related courses are rare" (1988, 11). Both McDade and Abella think that immigrants receive very little support in getting the (language) training they need to be accepted into the trades and professions for which they are trained. McDade says "Immigrants who are informed by employers that they require additional training for licensing are only rarely assisted in developing and pursuing a program of study" (1988, 31); "Support services are shown to be minimal, consisting in most provinces of advice from immigrant organizations and the services offered to prospective students by the registrars of post-secondary institutions" (1988, viii). Similarly, Abella says "To assist highly skilled immigrants to become established as professionals, an agency is required to provide counselling services, advice on how to pursue professional accreditation, and language referral services" (1984, 158). What assistance there is has been developed on the part of immigrants or their advocates (with the exception of academic preparation programs); virtually no initiatives have been taken by employers or licensing bodies to accommodate the needs of immigrants regarding access to (better) employment (Task Force on Access to the Trades and Professions in Ontario, personal communication) although some employers have agreed to permit language training programs for their workers. As one of the few examples of accommodation by a professional body to the needs of immigrants for accrediation, the governing body of dietitians arranged to have their exaination studied with respect to the culture fairness of the vocabulary involved (Task Force on Acess to the Trades and Professions in Ontario, personal communication). As noted above in the discussion on access to language training, the Workers Educational Association of Canada

(1987) has identified significant barriers that immigrants and refugees experience in getting access to post-secondary training. Finally, among the programs offered that link language training to employment, the range is biassed considerably in favour of the lower end of the occupational scale and focusses more on entrance to lower levels of employment than job advancement.

IV. Coordination with Other Settlement Services

Notwithstanding the focus of the above discussion on training to provide access by immigrants to employment and better jobs, there is an overarching need for language training for immigrants to be part of a coherent system in which services addressing all the settlement needs of all immigrants are available and accessible. At the same time as reinforcing the need for more and better language training related to employment, the view has been expressed by a number of parties that support for language training should not be linked to labour force destination (see discussion above under eligibility for language training). Many of the issues relating to the creation of a language training system as part of a total settlement service have been discussed at some length above: coordination among language training programs as well as coordination between language training programs and other sorts of learning opportunities immigrants need (orientation, citizenship, vocational, etc.); counselling and information brokering; credential assessment; support services such as transportation and child minding; and so on. The following are further items with respect to language training and settlement services which came up during the research for this study.

As an example of the kinds of activities that are often included under the heading of settlement services, the Lethbridge Immigrant Settlement Association provides reception services to immigrants new to the community, advocates on immigrants' behalf with other institutions in the community and government, helps immigrants find accommodation, escorts immigrants to appointments, provides interpreters, offers orientation and life skills classes, and provides language training through the SLTP. Movement toward the integration of language training and other settlement services can be seen in the steady increase in offerings of language training programs in settlement, community, and ethnic agencies. The Ontario government started funding language training programs in agencies in the early 1960s and created the Newcomer Language Orientation Classes (NLOC) granting program, which links school board teachers with support for language course administration in agencies, in the early 1970s (Ontario. Ministry of Citizenship, personal communication). Manitoba began a program of preparing agencies to offer language training in 1985 (Manitoba. Department of Education 1988). Employment and Immigration began the SLTP, providing funding for language training classes in agencies, in 1986. Alberta established its Integrated Service (ISP) program in 1987 to support settlement services in agencies and referral by these agencies to language training (Alberta. ESL Secretariat 1988). Both agencies and immigrants are pleased to have language

training associated with agencies because it provides language students with a chance to get easy access to other services and it helps the agency in acquainting immigrants with its services (Burnaby et al. 1987).

Through programs such as these, school boards, colleges, and even a few universities are forming cooperative links with agencies in order to assist agencies to offer language training or to coordinate agencies' settlement services with language training programs in educational institutions. As an example of how complex these linkages can get, in the second TESL Canada study of the SLTP (TESL Canada 1989), the Calgary Immigrant Women's Centre reported that it was receiving funding from the Secretary of State, Employment and Immigration, Alberta Career Development and Employment, Alberta Culture, the United Way, the City of Calgary, the Calgary Board of Education, Continuing Education (?), and the World Mission of Churches. Such a tangle of sources of support is the rule rather than the exception in agencies in areas with large numbers of immigrants. Coordination among funding programs is poor even in the provinces which exert the most leadership, in part because each program and agency has its own set of restrictions. For example, the Alberta ISP is only available to agencies which offer services to immigrants from all ethnic backgrounds (i.e. not ethnic organizations) (Alberta. ESL Secretariat 1988). Agency personnel must be highly sophisticated about programs and policies of all levels of government and the voluntary sector in order to tap into funding available, and a number of agencies, such as the Lethbridge Immigrant Settlement Association, serve a restricted clientele, in their case only government sponsored refugees, in order to reduce the range of the funders they have to deal with (TESL Canada 1989). Indeed, a number of agencies exist because certain kinds of funding were put in place and no acceptable agencies existed in some locations to offer the service. Umbrella organizations of agencies, such as OCASI in Ontario and AMSSA in B.C. help agencies pool their resources on knowldge and action concerning funding.

Aside from individual agencies, other institutions contribute to the link between language training and other settlement services. Counselling and referral services such as those offered by the two referral services in Alberta and Ontario Welcome House, as discussed above, are important examples of how coordination of information and a sensitive delivery system can put immigrants in touch with a range of services. However, counselling and referral on this scale are rare across the country. Counsellors at large educational institutions such as school boards and colleges are generally not specifically trained in helping immigrant clients or part of immigrant services networks. On the other hand, some school boards have ethnic community outreach personnel who can help parents as well as children establish the right connections with public education opportunities. Funding for such personnel tends to be precarious. It should be noted that community outreach personnel, along with staff of agencies, are in the best position to deal with the whole family as a unit rather than with children or adults alone.

In many cases, the language teacher is the first Canadian with which an immigrant

has prolonged contact. Therefore, language teachers invariably are called on to provide a good deal of counselling and orientation. This role of language training as orientation is enhanced when learners are consulted about what will be addressed in classes (Burnaby et al. 1987), when bilingual teachers or other personnel are available to explain complex matters, when materials used address common settlement issues (e.g. the content of Manitoba's "Speak English for Yourself" television broadcasts), when students have access to training at the time they are ready for it (i.e. through continuous intake), in other words, when the deliverer is generally accountable to the students (Manitoba. Department of Education 1988). Some programs work to increase immigrants' contact with Canadians by linking language students with trained Canadian volunteers who will socialize with the students, help them with their language learning, and assist on settlement problems (e.g. Red River Community College). On the other hand, volunteers recruited with a focus on settlement can get immigrants involved in language training. For example, the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture in Toronto pairs immigrant torture victims with Canadian "befrienders," some of whom act as assistants in ESL programs for these immigrants (Woods 1989).

In line with the discussion above on access by immigrants with offshore qualifications and experience to trades and professions in Canada, settlement services in Canada would be strengthened if it were easier for immigrants trained in the helping professions to be accredited not only to work as language teachers and/or in settlement agencies but also to work in the generic helping systems such as health care and social work. Since credentialling is a major block to many such professionals, generic service systems are being deprived of human resources (i.e. professional employees from immigrant backgrounds) that could be used to address major problems of access by immigrants to generic social services (Manitoba. Department of Education 1988). That such problems are profound is powerfully demonstrated in a study by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto on access by immigrants and visible minorities to health and social services (Doyle and Visano 1987). The study found that little was being done by generic service agencies to permit access by immigrants and visible minorities to these services and that there was a gap in communication between these generic institutions and the organizations which advocate for and serve minority groups. Some tentative moves are being made to assist immigrants in learning the general (but not professional) skills to work in settlement agencies (e.g. a course to that effect offered at George Brown College in Toronto), but access by immigrants to the generic trades and professions is a much slower process (Abella 1984, McDade 1988).

A focus on language training as a settlement issue takes the problem of coordination into a even wider arena than the coordination of programs, funding, and deliverers of what is evidently language training. Since 1987, TESL Canada's main research and action project has been to study and promote language training in the context of immigrant settlement. Links are being forged between TESL Canada and other groups which advocate for immigrants, information is being collected, and policy positions

developed. The final meeting of this two year project will be held at TESL Canada's conference in Calgary in November 1989, and the report which will result from it will inform the next phase of action which is expected include cooperative action between TESL Canada and other settlement service advocates.

V. Teacher Development and Recognition

In light of the above discussion, considerations of matters relating to personnel in language training could include classroom teachers, teaching assistants, administrators of agencies and educational institutions, translators, counsellors, day care workers, home/school liaison personnel, settlement workers, volunteers in various capacities, and others. Because serious information gathering on all such categories of personnel is well beyond the resources of this study, discussion here will be restricted mainly to teachers and classroom assistants. In terms of qualifications of ESL/FSL teachers of adult immigrants, standards vary greatly across the country. Qualifications demanded by types of institutions vary according to the predelictions of the institutions so that universities are inclined to look for academic qualifications, school boards to look for qualifications acceptable to the province and teachers' unions, and colleges, which are a relatively new kind of educational institution in Canada, often do not have a strong policy on qualifications. Provincial standards for ESL/FSL qualifications, in those provinces which have them, also vary. The B.C. ESL association, TEAL, has developed a system for evaluating the credentials of would-be ESL teachers, rating them as unacceptable or at one of three levels of expertise (British Columbia Teachers of English as an Additional Language 1989). Other provincial ESL associations are considering implementing a similar system on TEAL's model.

Programs of pre-service training for ESL teachers of adult immigrants are not available in public institutions east of Montreal although a few courses on ESL teaching are offered by universities in Nova Scotia and training in teaching anglais langue seconde exists in Quebec and New Brunswick. Diploma or certificate programs in ESL/applied linguistics are available from some universities such as Concordia University in Montreal and Carleton University in Ottawa. Various graduate degrees relating to second language teaching are available. Many faculties of education in universities from Quebec west offer ESL teacher training as part either of the pre-service training of qualified teachers or as additional qualifications for certified teachers. Often, these additional qualifications courses are available as well to people who are not provincially certified teachers. ESL teacher training by distance education is provided by Simon Fraser University in British Columbia and the University of Saskatchewan (Association of University Continuing Education 1989 and 1988). Some institutions with large ESL programs have their own teacher training program, for example, George Brown College in Toronto. The major employers of ESL teachers in the Winnipeg have developed a program called ESL

Orientation Pre-Employment which provides ESL information and training for teachers teaching in other fields in order to encourage them to enter the field of adult ESL (TESL Manitoba 1988). The Manitoba Department of Education has been involved in training personnel in settlement and ethnic agencies in ESL methods (Manitoba. Department of Education 1988). ESL/FSL training does not necessarily provide training in methods specific to the teaching of adults rather than children or methods and content specific to the teaching of immigrants rather than francophones or Native peoples.

The quality and quantity of in-service training available to teachers depends greatly on the commitment to ESL and the resources of the institution they work for and on opportunities outside the institution. The ESL provincial, national, and local organizations provide in-service support in all areas of the country through conferences, workshops, dissemination of information, publications, and special interest groups. Modules of self-access professional development are available from government and commercial sources (Societe pour la promotion de l'enseignement de l'anglais (langue seconde) au Quebec 1989, Bell et al. 1984). In general, ESL teachers in areas of the country with high levels of immigration have a moderate range of training support available to them, but in other areas, language training teachers are on their own. The brevity of this paragraph is not an indication of the dimensions or importance of this issue, but that its complexity is such that further discussion in this report was not practical.

Training in literacy teaching for ESL teachers is available only rarely and on an ad hoc basis in most areas of Canada. It is sometimes offered as a component of advanced level pre-service or in-service ESL teacher training. Those large deliverers of ESL literacy programs usually provide some kind of in-service support for teachers involved. Most teachers in agency situations, for example in those agencies which have conducted SLTP programs with learners of low levels of literacy, have enlisted what support they could from local literacy organizations, the provincial TESL association, or their own ingenuity. There is not the systematic cooperation there might be between ESL and literacy practitioners to share training, knowledge, and resources. With respect to support for language teachers to teach in programs which combine language training with training in occupational skills, it is not clear what kinds of professional development resources are available to them.

Employment conditions for teachers in language training programs for immigrant adults are generally below those for teachers of other subjects in educational institutions. In universities, language training is virtually never taught by faculty and rarely by employees on permanent contract. In colleges, conditions vary but there are frequent disputes concerning "revolving doors" where language teachers are kept on temporary contracts by being laid off on a regular basis, and trained language teachers are likely to be replaced by other teachers with no training or experience in the field, a clear example being at Holland College in Prince Edward Island but there are many others (TESL PEI 1988). In school boards, language teachers of adults are often caught in disputes about

the positions of continuing education teachers relative to those who teach credit courses in the elementary and secondary systems. A clear example of this problem is a long-standing dispute between the teachers of ESL to adult immigrants in Winnipeg School Division Number One who are not paid for class preparation time and receive no benefits (TESL Manitoba 1988). Provincial and school board regulations vary with respect to the ease with which a teacher with no ESL/FSL training can take over the ESL/FSL job of a trained teacher. Full-time, and particularly part-time, teachers of language training for adult immigrants are regularly at the mercy of fluctuations in funding for programs for language training and the enrolment of students in courses. At the beginning of each semester, they do not know for certain until the day after the course has begun how many classes they will be paid to teach, and what those classes will be. Since a large proportion of language training for immigrant adults is conducted on a part-time basis, a considerable percentage of the language teacher pool works on this kind of piece work basis.

Another aspect of adult language training that makes teachers' work especially difficult is the variation in students' needs and characteristics. In those institutions which impose strong admissions criteria for entrance into a language training program and set a curriculum to which the student must adjust (e.g. in many university and college preparatory courses for entrance into those institutions), language teachers can plan ahead and have some idea of the skills and intentions of the students. However, most ESL/FSL teachers have to create a good learning program to meet widely varied needs and interests of the students who present themselves. Evidently, this problem is much greater in institutions with few language classes rather than in those which can place students in a larger number of specialized classes. Since most language training programs are non-credit, the objectives are, at least in theory, relative to student need. There are teachers and institutions that impose their teaching agendas on students, but teachers and institutions that are oriented towards serving students' need have no choice but to have a highly flexible curriculum, negotiated on a day to day basis with the students. This means that language teachers are creating lessons and materials anew every day. All teachers in any subject area are supposed to adjust their lessons according to the needs of their students, but in comparing ESL/FSL teachers to, for example, high school teachers addressing a class of local adolescents on the basis of provincial guidelines for the subject, language teachers have a much greater challenge in lesson and materials development. Add to this the problems faced by teachers who work in programs with continuous intake and one gets one of the most challenging teaching situations imaginable. The combination of difficult teaching situations with low status and insecurity in employment results in a great deal of frustration and anger in the ESL/FSL profession.

A note is needed here with respect to human resources needed for teaching bilingual programs. In areas of high immigrant density it is possible for deliverers to recruit bilingual teachers in many languages who also have qualifications as ESL/FSL teachers. Fortunately, it appears that education, at least language education, is a field that is penetrable by immigrants with professional training, relative to other areas of education

and to other professions. Problems arise concerning the admissibility of non-native speakers of English/French to language teacher training programs. On the one hand, it is important to have some control over the target language proficiency of people considered to be qualified language teachers; on the other hand, it is important that bilinguals who speak the target language fairly well be made available as trained teachers to classes of learners who do not speak the target language at all. Where bilingual teachers are not available, English or French monolingual teachers have successfully worked with bilingual assistants on a paid or voluntary basis in situation in which the students have needed help in explanations on literacy, linguistic, or orientation matters.

The final point in this section concerns the training of volunteers for work related to language training. The use of volunteers to support a language training programs does not necessarily bring about a substantial saving in paid staff time since effective recruitment, training, and on-going support of volunteers require specialized skills and is time consuming. The best use of volunteers is often in situations in which certain human resources are needed for which people would not normally be expected to be paid or which motivated people think that they could do using skills they already have. The following are examples of programs which have used trained volunteers. The Newcomers Language Orientation Classes program of the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship has for almost two decades trained and supported volunteers who work in cooperating community agency/school board programs for parents and preschoolers, seniors, and others. There is a close connection between this training and workshops and teaching skills upgrading training that the Ministry offers to a variety of clients through workshops delivered under board of education and TESL Ontario auspices. Red River Community College in Winnipeg trains volunteers to socilize with immigrant language learners in college programs to provide an introduction to life in Canada and to help them with settlement concerns. The Ontario Federation of Labour trains volunteer union members to provide basic education and ESL training for workplace based literacy, upgrading, and language training for workers according to learning objectives identified by the learners. Similarly, volunteers are recruited and trained to tutor learners who are working on credit courses through colleges and school boards. An SLTP example of the use of volunteers is the program offered by the Calgary Immigrant Women's Centre. Volunteers were recruited and trained to work with immigrant women in their homes on a one-to-one basis for six weeks, and to facilitate small group study (eight to ten women) for a further six weeks before learners were introduced to study in regular classes of twenty students or more. The support for volunteers in this program was intensive with preliminary training, literacy workshops, and weekly meetings to share concerns and ideas about their teaching experiences. This agency spent a great deal of time on outreach to volunteers and learners, and concentrated on providing a clear idea of the expectations for the program. The conclusion from this study is that long-term, well organized voluntary programs can be a considerable support to language training but that it is unrealistic to suppose that quality of language training will result from irregularly funded programs in agencies that cannot reasonably be expected to have the expertise to train and support volunteers

specifically for language training.

VI. Input from and Accountability of Users and Deliverers

This topic concerns the setting of objectives for language training programs, the evaluation of the achievement of these objectives, and subsequent program adjustments as a result of the results of evaluation. There are at least two levels to which this process can be applied: the accountability of deliverers to the students they serve and the accountability of funders to the deliverers that they support. To begin with the level of accountability of deliverers to adult immigrant language learners, two examples of the negotiation of learning objectives between the learners and the deliverer are community based language programs in Manitoba, including those supported by the SLTP (Burnaby et al. 1987; Manitoba, Department of Education 1988), and the ESL and basic education courses established in Ontario workplaces by the Ontario Federation of Labour (Ontario Federation of Labour, personal communication). Information was not available from these programs concerning how the achievement of these objectives was evaluated at the project level. A third example is the Canadian Farmworkers Union ESL crusade with Punjabi farm labourers in British Columbia. It employed an adult education technique based on the work of Freire, a Brazilian educator, who espoused techniques that involve the learners and teachers in a process of enquiry into the social roots of the problem in which they find themselves. The first three years of the crusade were evaluated in a graduate these by one of the participants (Jackson 1987).

In the sense that employers who participate in English or multiculturalism in the workplace programs can be considered funders of these programs (some allow half of the training to be done on company time although most of the costs are covered by governments, unions, or other parties), two points raised in this study are relevant here. One concerns the philosophy behind the Ontario Ministry of Culture's Multiculturalism in the Workplace program which involves an individualized needs assessment in the workplace of the language practices and skills both of the immigrant workers and of those who worked with and above them. In other words, communication in these programs is considered to be a two-way street and both sides likely need to compromise and develop their skills in understanding the other (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, personal communication). As with the point made above, the focus is on the negotiation of the objectives for the program and not on the evaluation of the results or the feedback of results to improve further practice. In their approach to employers to publicize and encourage participation in their union-based basic education program in the workplace, the Ontario Federation of Labour warns employers not to expect too much from the outcomes of their programs. In effect, they negotiate in advance problems that might arise from assessment of the outcomes of their programs biassed towards the employers' interests (Ontario Federation of Labour, personal communication).

An example of on-going program evaluation is that Red River Community College in Winnipeg has exit testing of language skills, not to judge the students but to reflect on the effectiveness of the program (TESL Manitoba 1988). The value of such testing needs to be weighed against the chance that students will worry that such testing will reflect on their success and on their records. A number of publicly funded programs are evaluated as a matter of bureaucratic practice; examples quoted here are the two TESL Canada studies of the SLTP (Burnaby et al. 1987 and TESL Canada 1989) and the evaluation of the WEA's brokerage service (Burnaby and Abbey 1988). However, evaluations, because of the sometimes sensitive nature of their content, are not often readily available to or consulted by policy makers in the process of decision making. Certainly, academic studies such as that of Jackson (1987) on the Canadian Farmworkers Union ESL program do not often find their way into the policy making process.

This study uncovered few examples of ways in which programs had learned lessons from assessment of their language training exeriences except perhaps in the reflections of a number of deliverers of SLTP and CEIC funded programs for immigrant women destined for the labour force in which deliverers expressed awareness of the difficulties of working with students with low levels of education (TESL Canada 1989; Employment and Immigration, Ontario Region, personal communication). The Jackson study of the Canadian Farmworkers Union ESL crusade noted a number of recommendations, but it is not known whether these suggestions were followed up on.

With respect to accountability of funders for the programs they support, the clearest example that came up in this study is the commitment of the Alberta ESL Secretariat to establish standards by which programs can be measured and to collect information about the actual experiences of students in the system throught the referral centre (Alberta. ESL Secretariat 1988). The concern here is that rigid standards will be imposed for the sake of easy assessment that will not make allowances for recognition of the range of students' real skills or realistic needs of employers and academic institutions. As noted above, evaluations are conducted on many programs and some are cited here, but, because of the sensitive nature of the content, even those evaluations which are made public are generally not easily accessible. The big issue in accountability between funders and deliverers in the degree to which the deliverers are consulted in the process of planning and decision making with respect to levels of funding and shifts in program emphasis. An interesting example is the regional advisory committees which are supposed to be set up in each federal region to advise Employment and Immigration on the deployment of SLTP funds. These committees are consitutionally and practically necessary, since Employment and Immigration is not (supposed to be) expert in the field of educational delivery. Thus, it must be seen to consult with relevant provincial and local bodies with such expertise, and, indeed, it needs to. However, varying situations in the regions across the country have led to differing memberships on these committees as well as differing impacts of the committees in influencing the implementation of the SLTP and its relationships with other language training initiatives. The deliverers which suffer the most from neglect in the

funder/deliverer consultation process are the agencies. Fast moving policies about funding for language training and settlement support keep them running at full tilt (Abella 1984, 159), and they rarely have a voice in the decision making process except, on occasion, through their umbrella organizations.

The accountability issue focusses on the extent to which parties responsible for language training make efforts to see that what they have put in place is doing what is intended and whether what was intended is indeed the right thing to do. A number of stakeholders risk losing a great deal if such processes of monitoring are not followed: students, first and foremost, but also teachers, and vulnerable deliverers. Coordindated federal, provincial, and local level efforts to consistently carry out and share needs assessments, evaluations, and strategies for improvements to programs would go a long way to moving ahead the standard of language training in Canada. Stakeholders which have the most power, federal and provincial funders and large educational deliverers, are the ones whose compliance is most needed in the effectiveness of such an effort.

Conclusions

Conclusions from this study are quite evident. In terms of alteration from the current system, two initiatives are critically needed. One is to permit, encourage, and support the development of programs that will specifically facilitate language learning among groups of immigrants who are not now well served under the current system. Such groups include immigrant adults (1) who have blocks to access (e.g. child care, transporation, etc.) to regular language programs, (2) those who have training and exerience in trades and professions in their home countries and who are underemployed here because of barriers to access to accreditation and appropriate training, (3) those who have low levels of education in their home country and/or literacy in their mother tongue, and (4) those who live in geographical areas of Canada in which few services are available for language training. Examples exist of approaches that have been effectively taken to deal with problems of the first group listed here although application is minimal and uneven, but the other three groups have been largely ignored and are greatly in need of direct and vigorous action.

As a corollary to this point, serious concerns can be raised about the quantitative adequacy or the appropriateness of available language training programs given the numbers of immigrant students needing language training that are turning up in newly expanded literacy programs across the country. In the same vein, the numbers of students who are attending SLTP classes who do not fit the criteria (women not destined for the labour force) needs careful scrutiny. Further investigation is urgently needed. Either this phenomenon shows that there is not enough language training or that what is available is not accessible in ways in which much literacy and SLTP training is. No doubt the answer to this question is that both factors have an influence and that geographic and regional

policy factors play a role.

The other conclusion is that a major injection of leadership, funding, and administrative attention from the highest levels of government is required to put some kind of coherence into the language training system for immigrant adults. The current system is chaotic and wasteful of human and monetary resources: those of the governments, the deliverers, and the learners. First of all, immigrant students cannot find out what learning opportunities are available, and those that are available are not coordinated to meet the needs either of the students or, in the long term, the interests of the Canadian society that is receiving them. Secondly, language training delivery institutions suffer because policies and funding are not consistent, coherent, or predictable. Therefore, they are hard pressed to react as best they can to short-term demands much less assess and plan for strategies they could use to better serve their local immigrant populations. Stakeholders with powerful resources and reasons to become involved, such as employers, trades and professions gatekeepers, and the media, have not been pressed to lend their support to resolving this dilemma. Systematic strategies to consult students and deliverers are not in place or, if they are, are not implemented to any significant extent. The problems are not insoluable and the resources exist, but the leadership is not there.

A corollary to this point is that the network of stakeholders which must be consulted and coopted include not only those directly involved with official language training for immigrants but also stakeholders in the fields of literacy, skills development training, and settlement services. They have become increasingly involved in the system of language training in recent years, and their support and in-put is essential to the development of policy and practice at all levels of official language training delivery across the country.

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